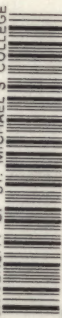


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THE CONFLICT OF IDEALS

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND





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W. J. Knox Little.

THE
CONFLICT OF IDEALS
IN THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

BY
W. J. KNOX LITTLE, M.A.

CANON RESIDENTIARY OF WORCESTER
AND VICAR OF HOAR CROSS

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INTRODUCTION

To any one who values and loves the Church of England, both for what it *is* and for the work which it has done and is doing, the present time is not free from anxiety. It is true, indeed, that “there is always a crisis in the Church,” and consequently we do well to put a restraining hand on extreme or alarmist statements. None the less “things and actions are what they are and the consequences of them will be what they will be ; why then should we desire to be deceived ? ”¹

There is a deep inner life and energy for good in the English Church, but undoubtedly the (almost morbid) restlessness of the age has not left the Church unaffected. It sometimes looks not like a strong rock—firm in a tumultuous sea and supporting a light which shines clear through the darkness over the uneasy waves—but rather

¹ Butler's Works, ed. 1836, ii. 100.

like a ship tearing at her cables and tossing so that the light now glimmers, now disappears among the restless billows. No one can watch current events, or listen to the many voices which are speaking, without feeling that *things march*. We have only to turn to the correspondence columns of the Church newspapers or even the secular press to see that the most fundamental questions are discussed with a freedom and satisfied individual conviction from a hundred points of view, as if nothing had been or could be *settled* either by the Catholic Church or our National part of her. No one can read Episcopal "charges" without noticing how very much the members of the Right Rev. Bench are "all at sea" also.¹ Like the human mind, according to George Eliot, the Church of England appears to be very "hospitable"; and, as one perplexed writer, in a Church newspaper lately, seems to perceive, the

¹ The present writer has listened to one Episcopal "charge" proving, with great learning, the doctrine of "the Real Presence" and "the Eucharistic Sacrifice"; to another denying it wholly and teaching pure Zwinglianism; to a third, teaching "Consubstantiation"; to another repudiating "the Ornaments Rubric," and declaring the rochet and chimere of a Bishop to be a cope, and so on.

only “note” which is evident in the Anglican Church is “comprehensiveness.” It certainly *appears* to find a shelter for all opinions—heretical or otherwise. Some of the clergy claim almost unrestrained liberty in teaching almost any opinion. Some of the Bishops discountenance some heresy or some “practice” which they are conscientiously opposed to, while preserving and teaching some equally doubtful “practice” or doctrine towards which they are individually favourable. Others assume a Papal air (which never sits well on an Anglican prelate) and say “it will not be permitted”—and “nobody seems one penny the worse.” Convocation is active and even restless within its possibilities, but the hand of the State is heavy upon it, and its possibilities are not abundant. There are schemes for “A National Church Council,” to include the “intelligent” and (apparently) infallible laity, the electors to which, it is proposed, need not even be communicants of the Church, which, while ostensibly preserving intact the rights and duties of the Ancient Convocations, will lead them tenderly to a lethal chamber or a *εὐθανασία*, and

which Archbishop Temple described in his frankest manner as “revolution.” A Royal Commission inquires about “irregularities” or “disorders,” with what object it is, as yet, premature to guess. The continual talking is more strenuous than ever. Ruridecanal chapters, conferences, congresses, meetings of all sorts discuss *everything*, from the being of God to the reason why *men* (it is supposed) do not go to church. Oxford is still full of discussions of abstract questions, which are applied in odd ways—by the ever widening range of its stray disciples—to Church and Religion. Cambridge professors and teachers deliver themselves of manifestoes and memorials not only on Tariff Reform, but on the Athanasian Creed. Even a select number of Deans—forsaking their *raison d'être* of chairmanship in their chapters—become, *qua* Deans, “trained theological experts,” and “strengthen the hands” of a certain class of bewildered Bishops in their efforts to suppress a creed which we are all bound “thoroughly to receive and believe.” A great battle rages as to whether the rising generation and some which follow are to be brought up in the Christian

Religion, or in some other religious “ Undenominationalism ” as some prefer, or “ Secularism,” which carries the day with others.

In spite of all this “ activity,” there is indeed real, solid religious work being done for God’s glory and the souls of men in the Church ; but this “ activity ” is striking and arrests attention. It may mean useful energy, but it may also mean a merely feverish love of movement, or even revolution. It may be a sign of life ; it may possibly be the agony before death. What does it mean ? Can the Church of England—the great teacher of the Gospel, of the Catholic Faith, in this land—stand the strain ? Is the Church of England moving along a line of true development ? Or is she being led away from her true course on ways to follow which would destroy her claim to be any part of “ the Catholic Church of Christ ” ?

These are anxious questions, and they are clearly suggested by what is going on. Never before, since the convulsion of the sixteenth century, have “ foundations ” been so freely meddled with, and, apparently, with such “ a light heart.” Here we

may quote some wise words: "We cannot remind ourselves too often or too seriously that the questions which are so freely discussed among us now, and are forced upon us all with increasing reach of aim and urgency of argument, are questions of life and death to human hope—not in one particular form or under one set of conditions only, but in any form intelligible to our minds, to any hope that we know of. A time so critical, so stormy in the regions of thought and feeling, and so pregnant with consequences which are scarcely conceivable to us now, is a time to be watchful over both life and intellect, watchful over the way in which we handle the grave matters which we may be called on to handle. . . . It is possible that, as men at all times are apt to do, we may exaggerate the real force and meaning of what interests us and goes on before us; as it is also possible that we may undervalue it. But a man must be indeed engrossed by the present who does not sometimes see in the future possibilities impending over his children which he does not like to think of." ¹

¹ Dean Church, *Human Life and its Conditions*, pp. 70, 71.

There can be no doubt that—apart from belief or unbelief elsewhere—*this* time is, in the English Church, a time of “strongly conflicting ideas and aims.” It is probably true of discussions within the Church, as outside her fold, that “the world is roughly divided, at such a time, into two great camps, of the old and the new”—of those who attack or defend, of those who accept “what is received and ancient and common,” of those who are dissatisfied with it, and devote themselves to criticism, to discovery, to the reconstruction or overthrow of what they find established or the substitution of something better in its place.

There are varying “schools” or “parties” in the Church of England. It may be unfortunate, it may be a subject of regret. Things being as they are, it is inevitable, and it is mere pedantry to speak and act as if they were not, or to expect to improve matters by saying they ought not to be. It would appear more profitable to endeavour to examine the various ideals of these various “schools of thought,” to try to measure the meaning of this conflict of ideals, and to discover on what conditions this conflict can exist without

reaching the point of such a "quarrel in the family" as would destroy its peace and usefulness, and lead at last to disruption.

It is this that is attempted in this volume, *from a Catholic point of view*. And here it may be well to say that the word "Catholic" is used in the sense well understood by all Anglican Churchmen, *not* in the spurious sense in which, for controversial purposes, it is twisted into meaning "Protestant," nor in the loose sense of the Bidding Prayer, but the more exact and restricted sense of "The Prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men" in the Prayer Book; in fact, in the technical sense well understood. The writer of this essay thus desires to look at the whole facts of the case before us now in the Church of England as dispassionately as possible, but does so distinctly and avowedly from the point of view—which, whether liked or disliked, cannot be misunderstood—of an English Catholic.

W. J. KNOX LITTLE.

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THE CONFLICT OF IDEALS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

I

THE REFORMATION

THE origin of our conflicting ideals will be found in the past. What is called "The Reformation" was a violent ecclesiastical convulsion, in some respects bad, in some respects good, caused by sin and unfaithfulness on all sides, and, even when good, coloured by human passion, leading men to lose hold of much truth and to commit themselves to wrong moral conclusions—as was likely to be the case at such a time of unrest and upheaval. It was a very mixed business. It was a rising against *practical abuses* much more than errors of opinion. Sane men, now that history can be known at first hand, are

no longer in love with the traditional cries of Protestant fanatics in the past. They do not talk of "the blessed Reformation," or "our incomparable liturgy," or "our pure and reformed Church," or "the errors and idolatries of Rome," etc. These are the watchwords now of only the thoughtless, the ignorant, the fanatical, or those who "play to the gallery." For serious men the language is quite other. They know something of facts, something of history. They know that the break-up of the Catholic Church, and especially the quarrel between ourselves and the Holy See, is a vast calamity for both, that the idea of a "National Church" as a separate entity—isolated from the rest of the Catholic Church, separated from a large variety of Christian bodies, created largely by its own unhappy conduct,—is an idea foreign to Christianity and the Christian spirit. They can only defend the Church of England, in a humble spirit, by pointing out that the faults are not all on one side, that "an enemy hath done this," that worldliness, pride, self-seeking, departure from the Spirit of Christ, characterised the leading figures on all sides; and that if we are, as we are, separated; if a great quarrel has taken place in the Catholic Family; if there is, therefore, separation injurious to the

cause of Christ,—it was because Sin *all round* had done its work, and our abnormal position became—not wholly through our fault—*inevitable*.

The Reformation in England took, as we all know, a different course, and was worked out in a different manner, from the ecclesiastical upheavings and separations on the Continent.

Though we believe that the Reformation in England was overruled for good, there are some points in which the Reformation on the Continent commands our respect more. There was something like real moral feeling, in many cases good and healthy, in some cases perverted, which helped in the revolt abroad against the Ancient Church. There was a real protest against practical abuses. There was real, although sometimes turgid, moral indignation animating foreign reformers, as for instance in the case of Luther. Abroad, there were in the various forms of the Reformation some leading spirits and strong men, like Luther and Calvin. In England there was *one* very strong man, and that was Henry VIII. It would be absurd to call him the “founder of the Church of England,” as her enemies have sometimes called him; but we must admit “the fact” stated by our greatest modern historian, “that his ecclesiastical measures had a much more lasting

consequence than his temporal ones," that "we are still living under religious or ecclesiastical conditions that owe very much, even of their present form, to his hand," and that "we have received," "under the Divine power, which brings good out of evil and overrules the wrath of man to the praise of God," both good as well as evil from Henry's great part in the beginning of the English Reformation.¹

The same discriminating historian considers that Henry in himself was not abnormally profligate, but he was cruelly vindictive. "There was in him an ever-increasing, ever-encroaching self-will, ever grasping and grasping more and more of power : a self-will guided by high intellect and that sort of sincerity which arises from a thorough belief in himself." He adds, that he sees in him "a grand gross figure, very far removed from ordinary human sympathies, self-engrossed, self-confident, self-willed : unscrupulous in act, violent and crafty, but justifying to himself, by his belief in himself, both unscrupulousness, violence, and craft. A man who regarded himself as the highest justice, and who looked on mercy as a mere human weakness. . . . A strong, high-

¹ Stubbs, *Lectures on the Study of Mediæval and Modern History*, lecture xi. p. 262.

spirited, ruthless, disappointed, solitary creature ; a thing to hate, or to pity, or to smile at, or to shudder at, but not to judge.”¹ The historian means not to attempt to judge as God judges, with anything like a certainty of understanding him, but of course to judge so far as this—as to see that he had drifted steadily and gradually into sin, and had become a very strong, indeed, but a very bad man. He held his Parliaments entirely in his hands. He subdued the Convocations to obey his will. One great point which at least he kept before him was the sweeping away of the supremacy of the chair of St. Peter, and another was the acquisition of absolute power both in Church and State, and of gain in money and lands. “For spoil,” as it has been said, “the old lion went on yearning to the last.” For doctrinal reform he cared nothing. He was “royally orthodox.” As he had gradually made Parliaments and people submissive to his will, so “he wished to be, with regard to the Church of England, the Pope, the whole Pope and something more than Pope. . . . Henry was determined to have, in England at least, both Empire and Papacy, to make the best, or rather the most,

¹ Stubbs, *Lectures on the Study of Mediæval and Modern History*, lecture xi. p. 263.

of both worlds.”¹ His contribution to the Reformation was the practical separation from the Papacy, which fully and actually came to pass in the reign of Elizabeth. Even by a man of such extraordinary ability and such unscrupulous craft and vigour, this could scarcely have been done had there not been grave sins on the other side. The Primacy of the See of Peter had indeed scarcely been questioned for ages, especially throughout Western Christendom. But Primacy is one thing and Supremacy is another. Supremacy also had been asserted in a way to draw down retribution. The Popes of the Renaissance were officially Christian and practically Pagan. They had lost all moral grip on the consciences of men who really cared for right and wrong. They not only closed their eyes to practical abuses, they were not only in their own persons examples of terrible vices, but, besides that, the one use that they seemed to make of their lofty position was to acquire power, and through power to satisfy their greed for gain.

Henry VIII. gradually discovered his enormous power, and, though greedy enough for gain himself, he carried a large proportion of his people with him because they were sick to death of

¹ See Stubbs's *Lectures*, as above.

Papal spoliation. The Holy Father had become not a father at all, but a supreme tax-gatherer. Henry was quick enough to perceive, when thwarted by the Pope,—and rightly thwarted,—in his desire for the divorce, that he could advance his unlimited notions of royal prerogative as well as fill his coffers out of his breach with Rome. As long as the moral conduct and spiritual excellency of the Holy See was evident, as long as it was the protector of the poor and the weak against injustice and tyranny, the belief in the primacy could not be shaken. It has been truly said, “Whether St. Peter founded or not a primacy at Rome might be a question of interest and importance to the disputants of the seventeenth and nineteenth century: it was of no import whatever to men before the Reformation. Circumstances quite independent of St. Peter; deeds which the middle ages could understand, services of the highest nature rendered to mankind, the silent and even obtrusive attestation of spiritual truths, and spiritual order and authority rising above the confusion and janglings of this world:—these and similar influences were the true causes of the primacy of St. Peter.”¹

It would have been impossible for even Henry

¹ Brewer, *The Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. p. 464.

to have withstood the belief of the Christian world on this point, had the Primates of Christendom been true to themselves and to their great calling. But, as we have seen, they had not at the time of the Reformation been true to themselves or to Christ's call to the fisherman. It is quite probable that at first Henry had no desire to break with the Papacy, especially as he had been its most powerful defender ; but in his case, whatever crossed his will, or whoever crossed his will, must go. He succeeded in doing that which would have been otherwise an impossible task, because the reigning Pontiffs had shown themselves as worldly and greedy of gain as himself. It is a mere dream to suppose that the Parliament or the Convocation had any lofty aims of reform in his time. Popular imagination in recent years, springing to a great extent from the narratives of (according to a somewhat trenchant but unhappily true description) " those matchless liars Bale and Foxe," has carried men into thinking Tyndale's translation of the New Testament had so inspired the country that the Parliament of 1529 nerved itself to shake off the domination of the clergy, and to struggle finally and effectually with the ancient faith, in spite of the threats of either the King or

the Pope. This imagination has no ground whatever in fact, as we now know from the records of the time. "Parliament was nothing better than a court to register the King's decrees, and assume a responsibility for acts the unpopularity of which he did not care to take upon himself."¹ What has been supposed to be a heroic reforming Parliament did nothing at all about "spiritual freedom or the rights of conscience," but simply registered the decrees of the King, mostly with regard to money matters. The members of that supposed reforming Parliament "were lawyers and country gentlemen entertaining unlimited notions of the royal prerogative. If the King wished to burn heretics, they were willing he should burn them. If he wished to threaten the Pope by abolishing annates and first-fruits, they offered no objection."²

"The Reformation did not owe its origin to Tyndale or to Parliament, to the corruptions of the clergy, or the oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts. There is no reason to suppose that the nation as a body was discontented with the old religion. . . . In the reign of Henry VIII. the Reformation is the work of the King, in all respects,

¹ Brewer, *The Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. p. 466.

² *Ibid.* p. 468.

as far as it went, and of his minister Cromwell.” Henry was backed up by those whom he himself had raised up to supplant the ancient aristocracy, by those who weighed the worth of most things by its money value, who were glad to have the burdens of the State shifted from their own shoulders by new appropriation of ecclesiastical and monastic endowments, who were freed by the King’s revolt against the sovereign Pontiff from their fear of the displeasure of the Church, and who were pleased to have utilitarian schemes carried out by the suppression of the monasteries and the transference of their property to the Crown.¹

Backed up by this great force, not at all of religious, but of utilitarian, opinion, Henry succeeded in abolishing the power of the Roman See. Under him the Reformation went no farther. The English people did not in the least desire the alteration of the ancient faith, but that part of the English people, of whom we have spoken, were all with the King for transferring to him the power that had once belonged to the See of Peter. Henry VIII. did not lead the hierarchy to alter the old religion, or indeed the old ceremonial, but he placed the Church under the heel of the Crown,

¹ See Brewer, *passim*.

and from subjection to that it has never since entirely escaped.

So far as the Reformation went in his days, it really amounted to the freeing of the Church of England from the power and supremacy of the Papal See and placing it under the power of the King. There was indeed a repudiation of the supremacy, though not of the primacy, of the See of Peter, and there was the establishment for the time being of a complete royal tyranny.¹

It was very different in the reign of Edward. Henry had been masterful but dexterous. The opinions of foreign reformers, such as Calvin and Zwingli and Luther, were more or less leavening the country, and seem to have told especially on the commercial classes in London; but from first to last Henry remained the determined supporter of the old religion. In one way or another there was in the air a desire for change. Practical abuses had to be rectified, and Henry had been willing enough to do this so long as there was no weakening of the Catholic Faith, or the power of the Crown. In Edward's short and disastrous reign England and the English Church

¹ See Brewer, *passim*; and Wakeman, *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, Note A, p. 231, and chap. xiii.

lay pretty much at the mercy of an irresponsible oligarchy. The poor were in a state of misery, the rich were engaged in a system of extortion ; there was waste and speculation everywhere. It is said that during the reign of Edward the Council and their friends had appropriated estates worth five millions of our money. The supposition that Edward VI. deserves praise for his Church charities and schools which have borne his name has been entirely destroyed by further historical knowledge. Rapacity and faction marked everything in his reign ; and then came spoliation of the Church and its furniture, and Acts of Parliament about books and images. Persecution went on against Anabaptists or " heretics " who were now those who disliked the new Prayer Book, just as persecution raged through all the reigns of the Tudors against various persons according to circumstances. In *this* reign, however, steps were taken which Henry would never have dreamed of, in a Protestant direction. The new Prayer Book was issued in 1549, and the use of the Mass in Latin forbidden. Various old rites were abrogated, the marriage of the clergy was legalised, and communion was ordered in both kinds. Cranmer was the great helper of the Protector. Foreign divines who had come to England, and who were

committed to various Protestant doctrines, were welcomed at Lambeth. As yet nothing had been done in the alteration of the Mass, except indeed some serious omissions which Catholics could not altogether object to ; and if the service for the Mass had permanently remained as settled in 1549, the Church of England would have been better off than she was afterwards.¹

But however much Parliament and Convocation had submitted to Henry, and however much the Protector and Cranmer pushed the changes on in the reign of Edward, it was not altogether easy to induce the people of England to be contentedly deprived of much of their faith and religious usages. Henry had had his grave difficulties from insurrections in the north, which might have proved very serious ; and when the new Prayer Book was ordered to come into use on Whitsunday, June 9, there was a serious rising in the west country. In Devonshire the people insisted on having their old Latin Mass ; the rising spread to Cornwall ; the gentry there seem to have sympathised with them, and did nothing to restrain them. Poor

¹ See Gairdner, *History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, chaps. xiv., xv. ; also Tytler, *England under Edward VI. and Mary* ; also Pocock, in *English Historical Review*, July, 1895 ; also Wakeman, *History of the Church of England*, chaps. xii., xiii., and xiv.

English people ! It was with difficulty, but with unflagging effort, that their faith and their religious observances were fairly beaten out of them !¹

Then there followed various deprivations of Bishops and appointments of others. Bishop Hooper appeared as the "father of Nonconformists." The altars were dragged about the churches so as to destroy as far as possible the primitive idea of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The Princess Mary had to struggle hard for the right to hear Mass. Ridley filled up the gratings in the north and south choir aisles at St. Paul's, lest those who were not receiving communion should look in at the time. Immense deference was now paid to the foreign opinion of various heretical sects by those in authority in a Church which had just freed itself from the jurisdiction of the Primate of Christendom. Cranmer, a really scholar-like man and of a subtle intellect, and possessing a marvellous power of translating collects and offices into simple and exquisite English, but weak and vacillating and unscrupulous—partly, no doubt, unfortunate man, from the circumstances of the terrible time he lived in—corresponded with Calvin,

¹ Gairdner, *History of the English Church*, pp. 256, 266, 267 ; Pocock, *Troubles Connected with the Prayer Book of 1549*.

who urged him to remove all traces of “superstition” while he had time to do so, and who in return urged Calvin to write direct to the King on the subject. Then in 1552 came the second Prayer Book. The Act which was passed with a view to the forming of the second Prayer Book curiously states that the doubts which had arisen about the First Book came “rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers than of any worthy cause,” and it described the first book as a “very godly order, agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church.” But Cranmer was labouring to fall in with the views of the German and Swiss heretics; and so the Prayer Book of 1552, wherein the English Church touched its lowest depth, was put forth. Cranmer, no doubt, had in his mind to invent what has been called a “New Catholicism,” with formularies to be accepted by all at home and abroad who had revolted against the Holy See. Then followed the forty-two articles—the forerunners of the thirty-nine—and then followed the death of the King. In Mary’s reign came of course the return to the old religion and the old union with the Holy See. In Mary’s early days there seemed to be no difficulty with this, but the various rebellions that took place revived again the Tudor policy of persecution; and the

Spanish marriage aroused national feeling and Prevented any return to unity.

Elizabeth, like her father, had immense ability. She disliked Lutheranism and Calvinism, and "she was strongly and intelligently attached to the doctrine and organisation of the Catholic Church." The lines of her religious policy were clear and straightforward. "National independence was a pivot of the whole, as it had been with her father." She claimed the right of the English Church to alter her own service, modify her organisation, and restate her formularies, apart from the consent of the Pope, without thereby incurring the guilt of schism, of heresy. If the Pope refused to acquiesce in her action, the blame of disunion must rest with him. She had no idea of the Church being absorbed in the State. She discarded the title of "Supreme Head," and preferred the phrase "Supreme Governor," explaining its meaning to be such that persons within her realms were not to be subjected to a foreign power. "Nothing could be clearer," it has been truly said, "than the repudiation by Elizabeth of any claim on behalf of her crown to be the source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or the motive power of ecclesiastical organisation."¹ For this reason

¹ See Wakeman, pp. 307, 308.

Elizabeth set about to correct the Prayer Book of 1552, and so form the Prayer Book of 1559, which was indeed an improvement upon the former. The "black rubric" was removed. The two forms of the words of administration were united so as to meet the feelings of both parties. The "ornaments rubric" was added "until the Queen took other order"; and as the Queen never did take (and probably never meant to take) any "other order," the "ornaments rubric" remained as it remains still, authorising the use of Eucharistic vestments, and permitting the furnishing of churches and chancels as they had been at the end of the reign of Henry VIII.¹ Then came the Act of Supremacy, as in Henry VIII.'s reign, not, however, including the statute about the "Supreme Head." Then came the Act of Uniformity, and so by the summer of 1559 the position of the Church of England had been settled. This, however, had received no ecclesiastical sanction. "The sanction which the Elizabethan compromise may rightly claim to have from the Church is not that

¹ This is now the law of the Church of England, by which bishops and priests and people are bound. No "judge-made" law; no "judgments of policy"; no sinuosities in certain Episcopal charges can alter the *historical fact*, now clear. There is no need to "legalise the wearing of the vestments." Not to wear them may, of course, be *tolerated*; to wear them is *obedience to the law*.

of formal acceptance, but of subsequent acquiescence."¹ But it finally became Statute Law in 1662.

Unfortunately the Spanish attack upon England, and the Pope's "Bull" against Elizabeth, had aroused fear in the Government and suspicion and irritation among the great body of the nation. Hence the cruelties of the persecutions and penal statutes, and the evil associations which for many a day were roused up in the minds of Englishmen against the very name of Roman Catholic. Puritanism, however, had also grown and strengthened, and, as time went on, in the days of Charles it struck down both the Church and the Throne. Then came the time when the Church was able again to assert herself. The Savoy Conference in 1661 was an attempt made to come to some understanding with the Puritans. It proved as futile as the Hampton Court Conference of 1604. The Puritans had "learnt nothing and forgotten nothing."

The differences between them and Churchmen were irreconcilable. It was then that the Church undertook the strengthening of her position and the "Reformation Settlement." The Prayer Book, which had become deeply rooted in the life of the nation, was revised. The Prayer Book of 1662 was merely an improved edition of that

of 1552. In many ways the Catholic spirit of the Church was brought out in it more distinctly. There were many blemishes in it, many wants, many matters that might admit of improvement ; but it has been a remarkable book ; and it, more than anything else, has been the means of holding Churchmen together. It was also, of course, naturally the means of consolidating Nonconformity. The settlement of 1662 closes the Reformation struggle in England.

After all that had happened, the agonies, the disturbances, the persecutions, and cruelties on all sides, the Prayer Book of 1662 exhibits the ideal of the Church of England to be this, viz. that she is as widely comprehensive as it is possible to be consistently with faithfulness to the Catholic Faith and the maintenance of unbroken continuity in doctrine, practice, and organisation with the Church from the beginning. She claims to desire no separation from the rest of the Catholic Church, and, while in no way formally denying the Primacy of the Holy See, to assert her own right within her own realm, and to allow of no ecclesiastical interference from elsewhere.

Whether this ideal is right in every particular, or whether it has been consistently carried out, is another question. However, there it is.

II

THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT

THE settlement of 1662—however right its main principles—was in many particulars narrow. According to the view which had crept over the minds of all men for centuries, intolerance towards any but the prevailing creed was considered a virtue and a duty. Intolerance implies persecution in some form or other, and consequently persecution had been resorted to in some form or another by the dominant party. Ignorance and partisanship have attributed toleration to Protestantism. Nothing can be farther from the fact. The persecuting spirit exists in fallen human nature and “the temper from which it sprang,” as well as the acts that proceeded from the temper, and the arguments by which these acts have been supported are directly contrary to the spirit and the teaching of Christ.

The intolerance and persecution seen on all sides during the whole of the Reformation period, and the period that followed it, were evident

examples of how the world had invaded the Church. "Mediæval England was singularly free from religious persecution."¹ Wars of religion and persecutions for religion sprang from causes which were entirely independent of religion, and corresponded to national aspirations which found expression in religious differences, but were *not* religious in the real origin. Such fanatical controversial sayings as "Rome, the harlot seated on the seven hills and drunk with the blood of the saints," are only the expressions of partisan rancour, and do not correspond to fact.

During the whole Reformation period persecution and intolerance possessed each party in power in turn. Henry VIII. persecuted;² Edward VI., or rather his council, persecuted; Mary persecuted; Elizabeth persecuted. Intolerance and persecution were no monopoly of one party. They were supposed to be necessary weapons for the maintenance of civil society. Luther approved of them. Calvin practised them; they were carried into the new world; the Puritans made use of them; they were embodied in the laws of England. Every religious body which attained

¹ Bishop Creighton, *Toleration and Persecution*.

² No fewer than seventy thousand persons are believed to have been put to death during his reign.

to power used them for its own support. "Religious persecution has always been much more an affair of State policy than of religious bigotry."¹ The Puritans and Cromwell had persecuted vigorously when they were in power. When the Restoration came, and the final Reformation settlement in 1661 and 1662, the House of Commons and the hierarchy of the Established Church proceeded to use the same weapons as had been used by their adversaries. "An enemy had done this," and the various Christian bodies, the Catholic Church as well as the Protestant Dissenters, were all guilty of acting upon principles directly contrary to the teaching of Christ. In the corrupt and fallen condition of mankind true ideas of toleration and justice are of slow growth; and there are periods in history when religion has fallen into the sough of the wave, and has used weapons which it had no right to use. It was by very slow degrees that the English Church learnt, as well as other parts of the Catholic Church, as well also as the separated bodies, have learnt—if indeed they have completely learnt it yet—the duty of toleration. The severe Acts at the time of the Restoration against Nonconformists did infinite harm. Then there were cruel Acts against the Roman Catholics.

¹ Bishop Creighton, *Toleration and Persecution*.

Through all this in the Church of England there were good and holy men and women who kept up the traditions of the Church, and who lived pious and holy lives. The Caroline divines were men of great learning and piety. In the reign of Queen Anne there was a revival of Church life and Church order. In 1677 Evelyn had reported that in Suffolk "most of the houses of God in this county resemble rather stables or thatched cottages, than temples in which to serve the Most High." Ken's visitation articles in 1684 testify to horrible slovenliness and neglect in the worship of the Church.¹

But things improved rather, and in the year 1714 there were at least twelve churches in London where there was a weekly Eucharist. Sacramental teaching had sunk to a very low ebb through Puritan influence. There was a great sinking down of the Catholic spirit in the time of the Georges. A latitudinarian school grew up in the Church, politics again influenced everything, and the Church was divided by political feeling. Then came the separation of the non-jurors. That was a terrible blow to the Church. The Whigs, who were now in power, appointed Whig Bishops, who took rather a side of

¹ See Wakeman, *History of the Church of England*, chap. xvii.

party politics ; used their influence against the Church, and on the side of what seemed most popular at Court. There was supposed to be zeal among the Whigs for religious liberty, but it showed itself by repression of all sorts. Convocation was suppressed from 1717 until 1850. Religious activity was carefully discouraged by the Bishops, who were in fact the creatures of a Whig ministry. Religion and morality sank, of course, to a very low ebb. The Bishops on the whole were worldlings. The higher classes of the laity were vicious and profane ; the lower classes were neglected, brutal, and irreligious. The clergy were certainly better than the laity, but they did not rise above the tone of their times : they were kindly and sensible men on the whole, and on the whole led exemplary lives, and were not wanting in the duties of students. If anything was done towards the education of the country, they did it ; they hunted for preferment and were often sycophants towards influential people, but they seem to have done their daily duties according to the standard of their times, and to have maintained the idea of " keeping Sunday," and even using Sunday schools. But the idea of devotion or sanctity, or enthusiasm in any sense, was wholly wanting. Indeed, loyalty to the Unseen would

have been branded as "superstition." Such times are spoken of in the following terms by a great teacher :

" The Church, as it had been in the quiet days of the eighteenth century, was scarcely adapted to the needs of more stirring times. The idea of clerical life had certainly sunk, both in fact and in the popular estimate of it. The disproportion between the purposes for which the Church with its ministry was founded and the actual tone of feeling among those responsible for its service had become too great. Men were afraid of principles ; the one thing they most shrank from was the suspicion of enthusiasm. Bishop Lavington wrote a book to hold up to scorn the enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists ; and what would have seemed reasonable and natural in matters of religion and worship in the age of Cranmer, in the age of Hooker, in the age of Andrewes, or in the age of Ken, seemed extravagant in the age which reflected the spirit of Tillotson and Secker, and even Porteus. The typical clergyman in English pictures of the manners of the day, in *The Vicar of Wakefield*, in Miss Austen's novels, in Crabbe's *Parish Register*, is represented, often quite unsuspectingly, as a kindly and respectable person, but certainly not alive to the greatness of

his calling. He was often much, very much, to the society around him. When communication was so difficult and infrequent, he filled a place in the country life of England which no one else could fill. He was often the patriarch of his parish, its ruler, its doctor, its lawyer, its magistrate, as well as its teacher, before whom vice trembled and rebellion dared not show itself. The idea of the priest was not quite forgotten ; but there was much—much even of what was good and useful—to obscure it.

“The beauty of the English Church in this time was its family life of purity and simplicity ; its blot was quiet worldliness. It has sometimes been the fashion in later days of strife and disquiet to regret that unpretending estimate of clerical duty and those easy-going days ; as it has sometimes been the fashion to regret the pomp and dignity with which well-born or scholarly Bishops, furnished with ample leisure and splendid revenues, presided in unapproachable state over their clergy and held their own among the great county families. Most things have a side for which something can be said : and we may truthfully and thankfully recall that among the clergy of these days there were not a few, but many instances, not only of gentle manners, and warm

benevolence, and cultivated intelligence, but of simple piety and holy life. But the fortunes of the Church are not safe in the hands of a clergy of which a great part take their obligations easily. It was slumbering and sleeping when the visitation of days of change and trouble came upon it.”¹

A great movement in religion took place within the Church of England, beginning about 1729. The leader of this was John Wesley, a junior Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, who made an effort towards a stricter observance of the teaching of the Church. He knew little of Catholic theology, but he had an ardent zeal for souls, and love of God. His tendency was to take inward “experiences” as the test of the truth. He was intensely in earnest and he had a strong will and great self-denial of life. Had he lived in the thirteenth century, he might have been led to be an immense force for advancing spiritual life in the Church. He might have been guided to complete faithfulness to the Catholic Faith while showing forth the beauty of that faith in his devotion, his hard work, and his energetic enthusiasm. Unhappily, Archbishop Potter was not Innocent III., and the English Church, in its isolation and separateness from the rest of Western

¹ Dean Church, *The Oxford Movement*, pp. 2-4.

Christendom, seemed capable only of creating schisms instead of guiding and utilising spirituality and devotion. Wesley moved the hearts of many, and drew around him a wonderful society, doing the kind of work in its own way that the Friars Preachers and the Friars Minor had done in the past, but without any real relation to the Church. He and his followers formed a great society, and moved the hearts of men throughout the country. They met a response from the small tradesmen in the towns and from the artisans and labourers, and found it necessary to have a regular organisation. Wesley himself possessed extraordinary administrative capacity. He had intense zeal for souls, intense love of God, but, while possessing a strong will, he was wanting in knowledge and in judgment, and he had had no opportunity of learning discipline. All this was infinitely more the case with his friend George Whitefield. The effects of his preaching were astonishing. He was less theological in mind than Wesley, and drifted into extreme Calvinism. A party formed round Whitefield, another round Wesley, and finally the chasm between them was complete. Wesley kept the main body to his larger doctrines. Whitefield carried the rest away with his narrower Calvinism. The rift between both and the Church

enlarged and became irreparable. Wesley indeed himself professed almost to the very last to hold to the Church. But his teaching, and still more that of Whitefield, had practically set at defiance Church order and lowered the estimate of the Sacraments. "He had founded," it has been said, "his society on a basis outside Church principle, and it developed itself on lines outside Church order."

The first Wesleyan Conference was held in 1744. In 1760 some of the lay preachers administered what they considered Holy Communion. In 1784 Wesley himself went through the form of consecrating two "superintendents" for his congregations in America. The society was practically a schismatic body, though, out of respect for him, no formal separation took place till after his death. He implored his followers not to separate from the Church of England; but he had founded the society on other lines than Catholic lines, he had become practically himself a Pope, and his sermons, not the Church's formularies, were the standards of doctrine. He had also taught his followers principles which must inevitably lead to conclusions apart from the teachings of the Church. If the English Church herself at the time had been less stiff and more spiritual; if

she had not been narrowed in by her separation from the rest of Western Christendom ; if her Bishops had been something more than peers and political partisans ; if the State had not kept its foot upon her with such unrelenting firmness,—things might have been different. But in so far as men were religious at all, they had put aside the idea of love and faith and self-sacrifice, and looked upon what they considered refinement, and decorousness of life, and a certain measure of enlightenment, as the true tests of religion. Morality, which all forms of religion would acknowledge, was looked upon as the essence of all true religion, and even the morality of the times depended largely upon a tyrannical conventionality, which supplied a thin veneer over much that was really wrong.

In high places in the Church of England it was essentially an “ Age of Reason,” and it has been truly enough said that “ human nature is so constituted as to be singularly irresponsive to the claims of reasonable duty. Men can obey the orders of Authority implicitly, they will follow the leadership of Love unreservedly, they never surrender themselves wholly to the guide of Reason.” The Church, if she was to fulfil her mission, was not to be an establishment for the encouragement

of a decent morality on grounds of Reason: she was to witness and guard the revelation of God and God's ways committed through Christ and His Apostles to the keeping of the Catholic Church; and she was to carry those teachings by strong faith, by zeal for souls, and by burning love in the hearts of her teachers to the hearts of her people.¹ There were no powers in the Church at the time equal to the emergency. Had there been, Wesley and Wesleyanism might have had a very different history. What was wrong or inaccurate in the theology of the movement could by loving explanation have been easily brought into agreement with the teaching of the Church, and an effort of real devotion for the advance of spiritual religion might have been prevented from hardening into a schism.

And yet Wesleyanism did not fail to affect the life of the Church. It was the originating power of the Evangelical Movement within the Church. It was that movement that roused up so many

¹ "La Religion Chrétienne est toute d'une pièce. . . . Elle ne présente pas sur deux lignes parallèles et distinctes des dogmas d'une part, et des devoirs de l'autre, elle ne laisse pas libre de s'attacher aux seconds et de négliger les premiers. Un bien spirituel et sensible réunit les uns avec les autres d'une manière inséparable, en sorte qu'il est également impossible de croire sans pratiquer, et de pratiquer sans croire."—*Alexandre Vinet par Edmond Schéver*, p. 10.

excellent men who were the back-bone of the Evangelical revival; such men as Hervey, Romaine, and Henry Venn, and then such a saintly man as Charles Simeon, and such a man as Fletcher of Madeley. The movement supplied for some time its own tone of piety to the better spirits of the Church. Cowper, the poet, was touched by it, and Hannah More as well as Cowper led it to affect the cultured classes. From its point of view Milner wrote Church history and Charles Wesley and Toplady wrote beautiful hymns. It roused up religious energy, which showed itself in the labours of Rowland Hill, in the founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and in the efforts of such men as the great Wilberforce in the abolition of the slave trade. But though the Evangelical Movement had done much to teach personal religion and personal piety, it gradually, as time went on, degenerated, as such movements will, because it was wanting in a grip of Catholic teaching and Catholic principle.

The Evangelicals were in the Church of England, and used her Prayer Book, but they did not really believe its teachings. The finest part of the Prayer Book, such as the collects, translated from the ancient Latin service books, the Epistles and Gospels and the Psalms, appealed to their piety,

but they always viewed it as to a great extent marred by remnants of "Popery" in it. They neither believed in its Catholic teaching of regeneration in Baptism, or the reality of the Priesthood, or the truth of Apostolic Succession, or the Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, or the Eucharistic Sacrifice or the Benefit of Absolution after individual Confession.

These things they simply ignored in the Prayer Book, and indeed for the most part used the offices of matins and evensong as a necessary introduction to the more important business of the sermon. As for "hearing Mass," the very mention of it would have been as *really* objectionable as in our own days it is *officially* to the ears of many modern Anglican Bishops.¹ They were entirely away from whole tracts of Christian thought and practice. They had no idea of the visible Church or the necessity of the teaching of the Creeds, or of the Sacraments as means of grace. They were truly very devoted and spiritual men, who had learnt much from the Church whilst hardly knowing whence they had learnt it ;

¹ We are still subjected in *some* Episcopal charges (not all) to unhappy tirades against what is so strangely described as "non-communicating attendance," as if the whole "Catholic Church of Christ" were wrong, excepting only a part—and not always the most devout part—of the Anglican Communion.

excellent men, who exercised personal influence in a manner full of help to souls ; they were Churchmen by accident, the best of whom, like the best Nonconformists, were a sort of crypto-catholic, *i.e.* Catholics without knowing it—and the less spiritual of them were simply dissenters who were planted in the Church and who accepted her ordinances and formularies generally as a sort of “paper theology,” without really believing them, and simply because they were there.

Such a movement was sure to degenerate, as movements of piety not grounded on strong Catholic principles always do. Naturally, when the Evangelicals were in the ascendant Dissent increased “with alarming rapidity,” and the Church stood still. But the world did not stand still. New problems kept coming to the front, arising from the rapid growth of population and the increasing importance of our great towns, as well as the steady extension of the Empire. Whilst the Evangelicals must be credited with excellent missionary zeal, especially towards the heathen, they always had, and in an increasing degree as time went on, plainly upon them *the mark of party*, and a fanatical narrowness of outlook. Then came the age of fashionable proprietary chapels in London, in Dublin, and

at fashionable watering-places. The sermon was everything, and religious people, especially religious ladies, flavoured their devotion to the world with devotion to some popular preacher. "Evangelicalism could never draw forth the strength of the Church to meet the increasing needs of the time." It became more hollow, less real; it lost its hold on the young, and from a movement of spiritual religion it degenerated into a more or less fanatical Protestantism, not so much teaching positive truth as declaiming against "the errors of Rome," or "the practices of Catholics." Its ideal had been personal religion, the vindicating of the close relation between the soul and God as revealed in Christ. It had done good work; but from its want of grasp of much of the Gospel of Christ, and many parts of His revelation to His Church, it necessarily failed when the hour of trial came.

III

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

AND the hour of trial did come, and then it was a very different revival which saved, up till now at any rate, the Church of England. The brilliant scholars, and men of great learning, and of high purpose and holiness of life, who began the new revival had, as is usual in such cases, little idea of the immense and lasting effects of the movement which they set in motion. The Evangelical Revival was "running to seed." It ended in strengthening and increasing Dissent, or in creating modern Protestantism—whether in or out of the Church of England—with all its bitterness against much of the Catholic Faith or indifference to it and to Church order.¹ There were, as there are, good

¹ "A man is certainly the most perfect Protestant who protests against the whole Christian religion. Whether a person's having no Christian religion be a title to favour, in exclusion to the largest description of Christians who hold all the doctrines of Christianity, though holding along with them some errors and some superfluities, is rather more than any man who has

men of the "Evangelistic" school, but it had become sufficiently "of the world" to be admitted by the State into the highest ranks of the Church. It had no stable principles on which to rest, and so necessarily declined in tone and character. It represented Dissenters illogically encamped within the borders of the Church, but in reality quite away from Catholic principles. It could never vindicate, to the minds of thoughtful men, the position of the Church of England as against the high claims of the Holy See and the rest of Western Christendom, nor yet against the Separatists in England, for the simple reason that it had never been really at one with that position and was therefore in a false position itself. Its piety and earnestness passed to the rising school, and it joined heartily with "the world" in the attack that awaited the new Reformers.

not become recreant from his baptism will, I believe, choose to affirm. The countenance given from a spirit of controversy to that negative religion may, by degrees, encourage light and unthinking people to a total indifference to everything positive in matters of doctrine; and, in the end, of practice too. If continued, it would play the game of that sort of active, proselytising, and persecuting Atheism which is the disgrace and calamity of our time."—BURKE, Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe.

Even now (1905) we feel the force and truth of this, when we read in *The Times* some of the letters on current topics. These writers are really good people—"Protestants"; but "popular Protestantism" is no longer religion.

The strength of the new movement, which had its origin in Oxford, was that with as deep and as strict a sense of personal religion, of piety, and devotion as the Evangelicals there was joined a vivid conception of the Catholic Church—visible and organised according to our Lord's will—and that it moved on Catholic lines.

Every one knows the history of that remarkable movement, not only from the caricatures and misrepresentations of its feeble but violent enemies, but from the vigorous pen of one who, not only by his exquisite style, but by his commanding and beautiful character, holds the respect of all English Churchmen, and who was himself a participator in the movement and the intimate friend of its great leaders.¹ Much of it is known also from that remarkable book, the *Apologia*, probably the most striking autobiographical sketch and the most wonderful narrative of the work of a commanding intellect and devout spirit which has ever been given to the world, and which comes from the pen of the great genius of the century. The men of the Oxford Movement suffered of course, as the men of the Evangelical Movement had suffered, from the action of the Anglican Bishops. This was to be expected. From the

¹ Dean Church.

time that the Bishops submitted to the tyranny of Henry VIII., and the other Tudors, although they received the spiritual powers necessary for the discharge of their sacred functions by the grace given through the succession from the Apostles, yet they had always been, as they still are, under an excessive State control. The very mode of their appointment creates for them difficulties in their spiritual capacity ; and though on the whole they have been excellent men, and though among them there have been, and are, men of the highest spirituality and great piety in life, yet they have always felt—and indeed it could not be otherwise—the heavy hand of the civil power. They are appointed according to the whim of the Prime Minister of the day, be he religious or not, and the reason for their appointment is consequently often not by any means special spiritual attainments or gifts for being leaders, but reasons of rank, or connection, or domestic relationship, or popularity—or anything else, such as private friendship, or college acquaintanceship, or political bias, which may affect the Minister of the day.

Unsupported as Bishops of the past have been by the whole weight and strength of the Undivided Church—or even as they were in the earlier and better days of Western Christendom, when “ the

quarrel in the family" had not come, by the force and prestige of the Holy See—they have necessarily had to lean a good deal on public opinion, and not by any means always the most religious public opinion, or even that of the Church. They have never, therefore, been really leaders of men, and any true movement which has told upon the religious life of the Church or the nation has been initiated by the Priesthood with the assistance of the Faithful Laity, and has usually had to struggle against the opposition of the Episcopate, at any rate until it became widely popular.

This was especially the case when the great movement began at Oxford. It is quite true that excellent as was the spiritual work of the early Evangelicals, it never told much on the solid mass of English Churchmanship.¹ Owing, to a great extent, to the attitude of the Bishops, that movement, as we have seen, tended in a Dissenting direction, and weakened the Church by the creation of the Wesleyan schism. When

¹ A devout and learned Nonconformist minister said to the present writer: "You High Churchmen or Catholics I understand, though I do not agree with you. You are faithful to your Prayer Book. The Low Churchmen I do *not* understand; they are Nonconformists in disguise. They use, but do not believe, in the Prayer Book."

the Oxford Movement began, "the Bishops were still amiable scholars who lived in dignified ease apart from their clergy, attended the King's levée regularly, voted steadily in Parliament for the party of the Minister who had appointed them, entertained the country gentry when Parliament was not sitting, wrote learned books on points of classical scholarship, and occasionally were seen driving in state through the muddy country roads on their way to the chief towns of their dioceses to hold a confirmation." ¹ They had of course not the faintest idea of being spiritual leaders. Patronage, at the time, was terribly misused to provide for the younger sons or relations of the gentry. The Churches themselves were in a wretched condition, and the poor (to whom the English Church since the Reformation had never been a very tender mother), if they attended the Church at all, could only be found in the corners of aisles, or at the backs of galleries, while rented sittings and family pews—very often also family monuments—became the central features of the Church. The altars, as well as the fonts, were used in the most irreverent and slovenly fashion. The idea of *worship*, or of treating the Mass or Eucharist as the great service of the

¹ Wakeman, *History of the Church of England*.

Church, was almost lost ; the " Lord's Supper " ¹ had become the " Second Service," in a large number of places rarely celebrated, and then frequented only by a very few pious souls ; and communion had come to be looked upon as a reward and privilege for an elect few and not as the " strengthening and refreshing of the soul " of penitent and struggling sinners. Naturally the Church had come to be viewed as a sort of State institution for the more respectable gentry and nobility. In spite of groups and individuals of devout and good people here and there who had kept up something of a Catholic tradition, she had sunk very low. It was this state of things which had to be attacked by the great Oxford Revival.

The great men of the movement set themselves to revive forgotten truths, and to bring before the minds of all nominal English Churchmen what the English Church really witnessed to, as a true part of the Catholic Church. They desired to awaken the intellect of clergy and laity to the meaning of a forgotten inheritance. This was done at first by the publication and dissemination

¹ It is curious how the one *unscriptural* term, " the Lord's Supper," has not only been *allowed* (as an act of compromise) in our Prayer Books, but used steadily by the Protestants, who are *in* the Church, though not *of* it—grounded upon an entire misunderstanding of 1 Cor. xi. 20.

among the clergy of tracts on subjects of Church doctrine. Especially the great leaders of the time laboured to bring home the truths relating to the Sacraments; it was, in fact, anti-individualistic, and based on the incarnate life of our Lord continued in man through the Church and the Sacraments. "The power given to all mankind to become the sons of God through the instrumentality of His spouse the Church, did they realise their privileges, has been the leading principle of the revival of religion throughout the whole Church which has marked this century." This the Oxford Movement specially set itself to bring home to men's minds and consciences, as this, in fact, had been long forgotten.

The movement had the advantage of the eager and devoted support of a galaxy of men of brilliant intellect, large learning, and lofty character. The brilliant scholarship, the gifts of poetic imagination, the deep personal religion, the transparent purity of life as well in the simple and loving nature, of John Keble were placed at its disposal. Indeed he seems to have been its original spring.

Dr. Pusey—the most venerated man in Oxford—from his vast learning and serene and lofty, as well as loving, life gave it stability, and the genius, goodness, acumen and devotion of Newman, with his

countless gifts and many-sided character, gave it a grip of the University, and through the University told far and wide, especially upon the clergy. For the movement was not merely intellectual: *it was a great effort after moral perfection*. Newman's afternoon sermons at St. Mary's may be said to have affected forcibly the whole tone of English life, as they have added a priceless possession to English literature and English religious thought. Newman insensibly and inevitably became the real leader of the movement, which, as time went on, moved the minds of men wide and far to—as such movements must—deep devotion or profound antagonism.

Nothing can witness more clearly to the fierceness of prejudice in England, when prejudice there is than what happened then.¹ The movement had called out violent opposition from the followers of the “Evangelicals,” from the less religious Protestants, and then from “all sorts and conditions of men.” The word “Popery” was whispered; and “evasion,” “dishonesty,” “Jesuitry”—anything against the most simple-hearted, honest, religious, and self-sacrificing body

¹ “Decidedly, an enemy of the unverified assumptions of democracy ought to be on his guard against the unverified assumptions of pedantocracy!”—JOHN MORLEY.

of men that the Church had ever produced. Really sober people talked of "disloyalty" and "conspiracy." Not only the Oxford "Heads," who of course would be narrow and academic, nor the journalists, who of course would reflect the popular cries, but even judges—who are always supposed in England to maintain impartial mental equilibrium—and, worst of all, Bishops, joined in the general hue and cry. The storm burst, as is well known, on the publication of Tract XC, which every sane man would now acknowledge as sober truth. And all this outbreak came from an effort of serious men to attach an intelligible sense, and one which would justify the English ecclesiastical position, to the phrase in the Creed assented to by all—"I believe in . . . the Holy Catholic Church."¹ For the question *de ecclesia* had to be settled. That indeed, to any serious Christian, is the question of questions.

Is the Church a mere National Establishment for encouraging religious sentiments? or is it a Debating Society to reflect the passing opinion which happens to be predominant? or is it a

¹ Such stupidity is astonishing, until we remember that "stupidity springs not at all from want of understanding, but from the fact that the free use of a man's understanding is hindered by some definite vice"—*e.g.* prejudice.

Human Association—venerable indeed, but above all national, where people, if they like, can “get good”? or is it a Club for encouraging moral principle and kindly action? or is it a Divine Society? Has it been ordained and regulated by Christ Himself? Does it represent the Prophet, Priest, King who is its unseen Head? Does it bring to men, and bear witness to, God’s revelation which otherwise they could not discover? Is it “the pillar and ground,” the guardian and witness, of supernatural truth? Is it the appointed channel of grace to God’s people? Is it the home of the Sacraments, and the teacher of revelation, and the instructor in devotion and worship? Are its officers—however they may be nominated—ordained or consecrated by Christ and holding a Divine commission? or are they mere State officials? These questions had to be asked and answered, and answered they were with no hesitating voice by the teachers of the Oxford Movement. And further, if the Church were Divine and Catholic, had the Church of England a share in her, and what share? To this too they gave a firm answer in favour of the English Church. But so deeply had the worst seeds of the past sunk into the minds of men, so terrible were the consequences of the Tudor

Reformation, and the dead or doubtful ages since, that English Churchmen did not recognise their Church when presented to them in her true colours. Some stood firm, but the heart of the great leader failed him under the storm of obloquy and misrepresentation. At last he was "hounded out," and then loss after loss followed.

No English Churchman now can read without heartache and shame and sorrow the farewell words of the great leader driven from his post by "the ignorance of foolish men":

"O my mother, whence is this unto thee, that thou hast good things poured upon thee, and canst not keep them, and bearest children yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatever is generous in purpose, and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no home within thine arms? Who hath put this note upon thee, to have 'a miscarrying womb and dry breasts,' to be strange to thine own flesh, and thine eye cruel to thy little ones? Thine offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee and would toil for thee, thou dost gaze upon with fear, as though a portent, or thou dost loathe as an offence; at best thou dost but endure as if they

had no claim but on thy patience, self-possession, and vigilance, to be rid of them as easily as thou mayest.”¹

Such was the wail wrung from an aching heart by the narrowness, short-sightedness, and hardness of the authorities in the English Church then. That wail has found its echo in many a heart since, for the long battle for Truth and Faithfulness has to go on with many a wounded soldier left on the field and many a one lost to the cause. None the less the efforts and patience of the movement were not lost. The Oxford leaders had felt the conduct of the Bishops most bitterly. They had reasserted the Divine character of the Episcopal position and the Bishops had turned upon them. When the crash came and the great leader despaired of the English Church, and when for some years one after another gave up the struggle and became hopeless of the Church’s Catholic position, those who stood firm had to bear the weight of constant Episcopal censure or opposition, and even when things improved to feel the danger of Episcopal timidity. For the cause of the English Church was not lost. The great movement turned out, after all, to be a force which wakened up and

¹ J. H. Newman, *Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, sermon xxvi., “The Parting of Friends,” p. 407.

transformed the sleepy worldliness of the Church into a living and energetic power for truth and life.

It has been a long and steady struggle—going on still—to free the Church from the narrowing bands of Puritanism and Erastianism with which she had been bound. Her position *is* anomalous, but that has not been all her own fault. The sins of the Reformation had returned to roost ; but so also had the sins which made the Reformation necessary and possible. The Episcopate had been so deeply Erastianised and despiritualised from its long servitude to “the powers of this world”—which had firmly crushed it since the tyranny of Henry VIII. and his subservient and unscrupulous tool, Cranmer—that it did not recognise its own friends when they came to deliver it. However, good came out of evil.

Some of the Oxford leaders had fallen into—what was in recent times wittily called—“the sin of Episcopality.” Every great movement towards spiritual life since the Tudors had to be carried through in face of the opposition of the Bishops. It needed this opposition to bring to men’s minds clearly that Bishops are not Popes, that the English Church did not permit the Tudors to put aside unconstitutional assumptions in the Holy See

in order to allow such assumptions to underlie the acts of every See in England. The anomalous position of the English Church and the undue interference of the State have prevented that lesson from being fully learnt yet. But the Oxford men began to learn it. "I always thought and spoke of *the Church*," said Dr. Pusey, "and I am in the Church of England still; Newman always thought and talked of *the Bishops*, and he has left us." So it was. The Church of England claims to be part of the Catholic Church, and that her Bishops as chief ministers of the Church should exercise their constitutional rights and fulfil their constitutional duties in a constitutional manner.

The ideal of the Oxford Movement was to awaken the Church of England to her true position, to remind her of forgotten truths which she was bound to teach, and to claim for Bishops, clergy, and laity alike their true places. It was felt that the English Church, if true to herself, must protect the claims of Authority, but the authority must be exercised so as never to forget the claims of conscience, and never to attempt mere autocratic tyranny, nor to act otherwise than constitutionally—that is, not resting on mere State power, but only on the teaching and

principles of the Undivided Catholic Church. More and more the Oxford leaders saw this; and “through much tribulation,” from the impetus given by their efforts, the Church of England has been slowly and painfully regaining her true place in the Catholic Church.

Misuse of authority and ambitious usurpations on the part of the Holy See and the English Crown in the sixteenth century led to the terrible quarrel in the Catholic Family of the West. Abuse of authority on the part of the Crown and of the Anglican Bishops, in undue submission to it, has been the source of many evils in the Church of England since, and is, to some extent, even now. No revolution can be carried through “in rose water”; and if the Church of England, her Bishops, clergy, laity, have more sense of their places and duties, and less unfaithfulness to the true principles of Christianity and the Catholic Church of Christ—then the struggles and battles and sorrows and losses of the Oxford Movement have not been in vain.

IV

THE CATHOLIC MOVEMENT

I

THE Oxford Movement had been in the main academic. It had restated principles accepted by the Church of England and endeavoured to rouse men to realise their heritage and to live according to the blessings placed at their disposal. It had been attacked and misrepresented, and appeared to have been crushed ; but good seed had been sown and was destined to produce its fruits. Bishops might deliver charges against the teaching and the teachers of the movement ; newspapers might deliver philippics ; Protestants might stir up the people with the cry of " Popery," but the movement, though checked, was not destroyed. Had there been no outcry it might have remained an interesting phase of academic thought, and, as far as the country, and the Church throughout the country, were concerned, the teaching of the Prayer Book, the Articles, the Ordinal, might have continued to be what it had been

in great measure for so long, "a paper theology." Humanly speaking, had there not been the persecution initiated by the martyrdom of St. Stephen in the first age, the Faith and the Church might not have spread so rapidly as they did ; and, in a narrower sphere, had it not been for the persecution of Dr. Pusey, Dr. Newman, Mr. Ward, and others, there might not have been, indeed, the catastrophies of the moment, but also the teaching of the great Oxford leaders might practically have begun and ended in Oxford.

This, however, was, in God's good Providence, not to be. The Oxford Movement was to have its full development in the Catholic advance throughout the Church. This advance was marked and assisted by persecution. The striking fact about it was the absence of any appointed or accredited leaders. It was a "leaven leavening the whole lump." Good men were at work in all parts of the country, *living* and acting upon the principles of the Oxford Movement. As was sure to be the case, they were not always in a position to see "eye to eye" with one another in details, but they advanced from the same principles. The attitude of faith which reverently clings to the Church as a repository of spiritual knowledge was the attitude

of all. There had been "the provincialism of English controversialists." There had been a religion "based on English prejudice and misapprehension," and acting on "the vagaries of private judgment." It was not so now, and the Catholics, not forming a party with recognised leaders, were acting out in greater or less degree the real principles of the Prayer Book. They had, as each effort towards a higher religious life had already had, the opposition of the still State-bound Bishops, and they had a "note" of Catholicism, "the reproach of Christianity, its opposition to the natural man." The idea had been sedulously fostered that every attempt to be more true to the teachings of the Prayer Book was an approach to "Popery," but, in spite of the sedulous and continued efforts to "wave the red rag" and rally the country to the Protestant cries, the truth marched on.

The secular arm was now to come into play. The Committee of Privy Council began the series of efforts to crush Catholic teaching which have so greatly helped to spread the Faith, and which have discredited in all religious questions the value of the Council's decisions. Men learnt from the Gorham judgment and later ones which followed, that, whatever the Privy Council might

say, it could in no way bind the consciences of Churchmen. This was not learnt without great loss. The other part of the Western Church was enriched by the secession of devoted and able men who, from want of patience and taking the full measure of things, concluded too hastily that the Church of England was wholly Erastian. The Catholics who stood to their guns had to fight and work for long in an atmosphere of suspicion. The barest decencies of worship—arrangements accepted without question now—had to be won back under the fire of the guns of the enemy.

The first phase of the Catholic advance was the vigorous "High Church" movement throughout the country. "The Gorham judgment" opened men's eyes more to the truth of Regeneration in Baptism, enabled them more fully to appreciate the seriousness and dignity and privileges attached to a supernatural admission to membership into the Body of the Catholic Church, and helped them to grasp more firmly the distinction between "Regeneration" and "Conversion." The Eucharistic controversy and the prosecution of Mr. Bennett did much to help Churchmen to enter into the truth of the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, under the form of bread and wine, in the Blessed

Sacrament. It brought before them the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. And amidst this struggle the Spirit of God was moving the Church to self-denying labours, abundant good works, and devout efforts for succouring the afflicted, reclaiming sinners, spreading "religious and sound" education, and making the Church of England as the nation's instructress in the Catholic Faith, no longer a half-asleep worldly "establishment," but "the power of God" for good throughout the land.

II

The whole effort of the Catholic Movement was to make "the practice of clergy and faithful harmonise with the ideas inherited from their past, and enshrined in the Prayer Book. It was not to have a one-sided presentment of truth, but to bring into living effect "the whole counsel of God." There had been high-minded "High Churchmen" of the old school, the school of Bishop Andrewes and the Caroline divines, who had lived pious lives, and written valuable treatises, and served God in their generation, but there was one very serious blot on the Anglican part of the Catholic Church: since the Tudors had done their best to crush religion out of the poor, *she had*

not been the Church of the poor. It was the Catholic Movement, as it advanced, which carried the faith of the Prayer Book to the People. At the settlement in 1662, the Prayer Book had been left as an invaluable treasure to the more educated and intelligent, and a storehouse of Catholic doctrine; but a decorous Matins or Evensong was little likely to attract and hold the poor or the working classes, or the increasing numbers of intelligent artisans. As a matter of fact, the Anglican Church to a very great extent had, and it may be feared has, to some extent still, lost the poor.

It is a statement too unlimited to say "when Henry VIII. quarrelled with the Pope about his marriage relations there lay ready to his hand a national feeling of which he was ruler enough to make full use."¹ This is only so far true in that he had behind him *the influence of the middle classes* (then rising into importance), and the new nobility, which in fact came from these, formed a part of them. The old feudal nobility had in great part perished in the Wars of the Roses, and the rest were thinned out by Bills of Attainder. It was from this middle class that the Church of England derived its strength. "It is among

¹ Newbolt and Stone, *The Church of England*, p. 15.

them that its worshippers are mainly found ; and—in spite of all efforts to the contrary—open churches, gratuitous sittings, missionary efforts in the homes and haunts of the poor—the middle classes, or those rising into the middle classes, take possession, not of the places occupied by the poor, but of the places the poor do not care to occupy. . . . The fall and transfer of the property ” (of the monasteries) “ to the Crown became the easier because it was a realisation of those utilitarian schemes of the middle classes for converting ecclesiastical property to secular uses.”¹ The poor, however, were not considered. They had been helped by the monasteries, and the devotions of the Church meant much to them. On the plea of destroying “ superstition ” the oligarchy who ruled in the name of Edward VI. —probably the most godless Government and the most rapacious under which England ever groaned—had destroyed much that was good, and much that was needed for the religious exercises of the poor. The Church was denuded of “ Devotions,” of all those helps and suggestions to devotion especially required by the poor. They did not desire their Mass in English. They loved it in Latin. They knew it so, and used it

¹ Brewer, *The Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. pp. 471, 474.

so, and understood it so—better probably than the average English poor people understand it in English now. The Lincolnshire rising in Henry VIII.'s reign, as well as "the Pilgrimage of Grace," showed how strong the feeling among the lower people was for the usages of their religion. The rising in the west shows how they desired their Latin Mass, and no one necessarily to communicate with the priest; the reservation of the Sacrament over the High Altar; their holy bread, holy water, palms and ashes, and the images of our Lord, our Lady, and the Saints; and their sensible and practical wish—now often necessarily carried out—for the administration of Holy Baptism on week days as well as Sundays and Holy Days. Cranmer had to answer these demands, which, with his ready suppleness in obeying the reigning powers in all things, "he did with the skill and clearness of view that might have been expected"—says an historian of the time—"but not without some brow-beating and lecturing of the petitioners."¹

The Reformed Church did, and has done, little for the poor to assist them in devotional life. If abuses were remedied or "superstition" attacked, there was little or nothing given in its place; and

¹ Gairdner, *History of the English Church*, chap. xiii. p. 269.

according to Catholic principles, the poor and the children should have been most closely cared for by the Church ; but they were not, and hence in many parts of the country what they could not find in the Church they sought for elsewhere. Many parts of the country, such as Cornwall and Wales and parts of the north, either, in some cases, remained under the Roman Obedience, or in others came largely under the influence of the warmer and more enthusiastic kinds of Dissent which made some appeal to the emotional nature, without—what might have been—the steadying influences of the Church.

This the Catholic teachers who had learnt from the Oxford Movement set themselves to remedy. They desired to make the teachings of the Prayer Book *a living power* to the people and to all classes of the people ; and in a great measure, and under great difficulties, and under a constant fire from “ Authority,” they have succeeded. The Church of England is, alas ! far from meeting the needs of our vast population now, but it is less the Church of “ the respectable ” only, and has, more than it had before, touched and possessed the hearts of the people—the outcast, the degraded, as well as the suffering and noble-hearted poor.

Matins had practically possessed the Churches

of the country, and the Lord's own service had been displaced. Even in the dislocated form of the service in the Prayer Book of 1662—greatly restored to its more primitive order in the Scottish and American Prayer Books—the Eucharistic Sacrifice, though obscured (by the constant effort of the reformer to “face both ways”), is still taught. Call it by the unscriptural name of “Lord's Supper,” or call it celebration of Holy Communion, or Holy Eucharist, or Blessed Sacrament, or the good old English name of Mass,¹ men had to be reminded (1) that our Lord did not institute one great service for the Eastern Church, another for the Roman, and another for the English Church, as seemed practically to be supposed, but that He had instituted one great service for the whole Catholic Church, to be “a perpetual memorial of His death and passion”; (2) that it might be viewed under two aspects, as a Sacrifice and as a Communion; that He had never said “Attend Matins as My commemoration,” but “Do this, Offer this, as My commemoration.” It was necessary

¹ It is quite curious, the furious prejudice in certain quarters against this name. It is especially so when found in the clergy, every one of whom has subscribed to Article XXXV., and who know what the Church thought of objectors to Edward's First Book. It is a fine old English name, not to be disparaged.

that the one service the Lord had appointed, the special service for pleading the merits of His Cross and Passion, should take its rightful place again as the one central service of the Church; and that as He said "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not," every baptized soul (not ex-communicate), the aged, the young, the rich, the poor, had a right and a duty to join in "the Church's great Prayer Meeting" and "hear Mass" on Sundays and holidays. This was really for all His children to gather round the feet of Christ, not only when making their communion, after proper preparation, but at other times as well—to join in Christian worship.

It was the effort of the Catholic Movement to revive in the souls of *the people* the teaching of the Church on the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and to lead them to worship God in His appointed way by "hearing Mass."

This being so it was natural that an awakened clergy should revive the ceremonial ordered by the Church of England—but so neglected in careless times—especially the ceremonial for the Eucharistic Service. This is ordered in the plainest manner in what is called "the ornaments rubric" for the guidance of the Church of England. "Things seen are greater than things

heard," and it was felt that if the true doctrine was taught, as it is by the Church of England, the ordered mode of expression should not remain as an antiquarian curiosity, but should be used. Here I may quote from the account given of the Ritual Controversy by an eminent historian.

"When they looked at history they found that many ceremonies authorised by that rubric had, as a matter of fact, been in use in the Church of England until comparatively recent times. If the full ceremonial of the first Prayer Book was permissible, there was an overpowering argument for its adoption. No step which the Church of England could take would more effectually bring before the eyes of men her claim to be in real unity with the rest of the Church Catholic both in the East and in the West. The evidence of similarity of service already recognised by the learned would be at once brought home to the ordinary man by the similarity of ceremonial. The parochial clergy, too, soon found that as their congregations became more educated in Church principles and Eucharistic doctrine they began to demand more solemn occasions of worship. So it happened that in the twenty years which followed the secession of Newman, prominent High Churchmen in all parts of the country began

to restore the use of the Eucharistic vestments, and in other respects adopt the ceremonial which they believed to be authorised by the ornaments rubric. Unfortunately the Bishops, who for the most part had been brought up under Evangelical or Latitudinarian influences, were unable to understand and sympathise with the real objects of this action. They, and most of the leading men in England, could only see the imitation of 'Popery' in what was really an effort in the direction of historical Christianity. Instead of attempting to regulate and control the development of ceremonial, they declared war against it, refused to listen to arguments for it, denounced its advocates as disloyal to the Church, and lent their assistance to the efforts to suppress it."¹

Then came arguments of the most disingenuous character. Every effort was made to make "Yes" appear to mean "No," and to make loyal men, who were simply obeying the Church's commands, appear disloyal, and that too by those who themselves were guilty of "lawlessness." That some Catholics acted foolishly, or without tact, goes without saying, for they were human. Follies have been committed on all sides in times of ecclesiastical struggle, and

¹ Wakeman, *History of the Church of England*, pp. 481, 482.

the Catholics were not exempt from the frailties of humanity. The Bishops themselves showed little wisdom. They blundered on, and—to quote the same historian—“by sheer bad management and stupidity a grave constitutional question, which bound nearly all the Bishops together against the interests of the Church, had been allowed to grow out of a mere question of ceremonial.”¹ We all remember the “judgments of policy” which disgraced English courts of justice: the various efforts of the judicial committee, the ill-starred and unconstitutional Public Worship Regulation Act, and the imprisonment of good men whose only fault was loyal obedience to the Prayer Book and resistance to Episcopal autocracy. Then when Catholics taught and practised the doctrine of Confession and Absolution, as taught in the Prayer Book, there came questions and all sorts of misrepresentation as to “Compulsory Confession.” It was a sad time. But, as injustice and persecution so often do, it did good to the cause it endeavoured to destroy. Persecution, unless it can become extermination—the Church and even the civilised world has in great measure learned—is bad policy.

All through this, work was going on. Missions,

¹ Wakeman, *History of the Church of England*, p. 485.

at first of course denounced by the authorities, were preached, in London, in Manchester, in Leeds, and more and more in country parishes, and great was the awakening of souls. In spite of all opposition, the Church's provision "for restoring and comforting penitent souls through confession and absolution" was used to the great help of many. Guilds, meetings, devotional services with hymns and sermons, retreats even for working men, as well as for the more leisured laity and for the clergy, were held. Good Friday, with the use of the Devotion of the Three Hours' Agony of our Most Holy Redeemer, became a day of serious devotion instead of a mere holiday for worldly amusement. Addresses to working men in their dinner hours, sermons, in penitential seasons, on the Way of the Cross—every form of devotional activity helped to feed the religious wants of the working classes and the poor which had been left so unprovided for by the reformers of 1662. Social activity kept pace with revived religious energy; and, to some extent at least, the Church of England, with her stiff and "sober" and "moderate" offices, could no longer be said to be *not* the Church of the toiling and the poverty-stricken multitudes, and no longer ministered *merely* to the gentry or upper middle class or

cultured class, in such moments as they could spare for Matins or Evensong. Above all, the Eucharistic Service—either in the quiet form of “Low Mass,” chiefly for communion, or in the statelier form of Sung or “High Mass,” with the proper use of incense and lights, chiefly for worship—drew working people, poor, and children to a share in “the Church’s Great Prayer Meeting” and made the Church once again in England the home of the workers, the poor, and the lonely as well as the well-to-do, cultured, and rich. The Sacrament was reserved for the sick and dying, and they were no longer neglected in supposed obedience to a rubric which was never meant to place an obstacle in the way of a primitive and Catholic custom, but only in the way of profanation.¹ The faithful departed were no longer forgotten in the semi-pagan manner of Puritan narrowness, but were remembered at the altar in offering “the Sacrifice of our ransom.”

The idea of Catholic life, work, duty, devotion, charity, was revived, and *the belief was acted upon* that if the Church of England were indeed a true part of “the Catholic Church of Christ,”—

¹ See Kempe and Carter, *Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the Sick and Dying not inconsistent with the Order of the Church of England*.

as she claims to be—she was to be taken at her word, and that her priests were to minister to the needs of “all sorts and conditions,” teaching the Faith, using the penitential system, conducting Catholic worship, meeting the devotional needs of souls, and praying for those who had been called within the veil. If she were a merely narrow State establishment for the convenience of the few “respectable”; if she could not stand the test of living true to Catholic teaching and custom to which she appealed, well, then better that she should show herself in her true colours and that men should know the worst. How well she stood the test, how well, in spite of over-cautious, or fearful, or antagonistic members or even authorities, she burst the bonds of a narrow Puritanism and Erastianism all men know. There may be many a battle still to be fought, but no man can deny that—allowing for all mistakes, making all necessary limitations, remembering that the fight between narrowness and large love, between Nationalism and Catholicism, between truth and half-truth or error, must still go on—the Church our mother awoke and tried at last to act out her motherly duties to her children, not as a merely national establishment, but (as she claims to be) as a true part of the Universal Church.

The Oxford Movement, followed up by the Catholic awakening, was not for nothing. In spite of all losses, all mistakes, all hindrances, all misrepresentations, all sorrows, the whole religious temper of the country was raised, the position of the Church was altered in the eyes of the nation, in the eyes of Christendom, the narrowness of Puritanism had received a deadly blow, the Faith of Christ had been vindicated—at any rate could no longer be despised or ignored. “We”—as Dr. Pusey (who had, at one time, anxieties about “Ritualism”) once said to the present writer—“we of the older movement restated and fought for *principles*, you younger men showed them in action and carried them into the hearts and lives of the people.”

Hence the Catholic ideal can be plainly seen.

Catholics, English Catholics, believe that the Faith is a Body of Truth revealed by God through Christ to His Church.

That *that* Church is the Catholic Church of Christ throughout the world, and it is the witness and teacher of the truth.

That owing to the sins of men—for the Church is human as well as Divine—there have been serious quarrels in the Catholic family.

That with regard to ourselves the terrible

quarrel which brought external separation from the rest of Western Christendom was the ecclesiastical convulsion called the Reformation.

That *that* came from the sins of men, from practical abuses of power, from greed of gain, from political ambitions, from the moral failures of the Roman Pontiffs and the wickedness of the English Sovereigns.

That the Church of England has not denied the historical fact of the Primacy of the See of Peter, but only the fact of the Supremacy of the occupant of that See over all parts of the Church and all kingdoms.¹

That the Church of England is a true part of the Catholic Body, with a sacred ministry derived by succession from the Apostles, with true Sacraments, with the three Catholic Creeds and the Holy Scriptures and the tradition of the Undivided Church as her guides in doctrine, discipline, customs, and methods of worship.

That she has never wished to separate in any way from the rest of the Catholic Church, but only to assert her legitimate independence in minor matters, and in the reform of practical abuses.

¹ See Aubrey L. Moore, *History of the Reformation*, lect. ii. p. 27; also Wakeman, *History of the Church of England*, chap. xi. note A, pp. 231, 232.

The English Catholic claims to possess, and to be bound to use, the rightful spiritual possessions of the undivided Catholic Church in Faith, in Sacraments, in devotions, in customs.

He admits no Papal authority in Bishops, no autocracy, but only constitutional authority supported on Catholic Faith, practice, customs.

He admits no authority in the civil power to deal with the Faith, the Sacraments, the worship of the Church.

He does not pretend that the Church of England in herself is infallible, or that she did not make many mistakes during the Reformation struggle, and sustain great losses—but

He believes that she has preserved the essentials of the Faith and is the accredited teacher of it to this race and nation.

He looks upon the divisions in the Catholic Church and the separation of various bodies of Christians to be a serious misfortune—the outcome of, and punishment for, many sins ; and believes that he must constantly pray for reunion and do all in his power—by charity, kindness, fair dealing, just estimate of the standpoint of others, true admission of the faults and mistakes of his own part of the Church, consistently with faithfulness to Catholic principle—to promote that reunion.

His watchword with regard to his part of the Church is *Reality* : a *real*, living part of Catholic Christendom ; *real* Sacraments (not mere signs) ; a *real* regeneration in Holy Baptism ; a *Real* Presence “ under the form of bread and wine ” in the Blessed Sacrament ; a *real* commemorative Sacrifice of our ransom ; *real* absolutions for penitent sinners ; *real* Canonical Scriptures to be guarded and from which to learn ; *real* Creeds not to be tampered with, but believed as given by God to His Church ; *real* union in the One Body even if external communion be interrupted ; the *real* sanctity and indissolubility of Holy Marriage ; a *real* probation here to build up *character* in the likeness of Christ ; *real* powers of prayer and almsgiving ; *real* capacities of faith in matters where reason can no longer guide ; *real* battles against sin ; *real* possibilities of goodness, of sanctity, by the grace of God ; *real* spiritual helps in the Church’s ministrations in life ; *real* comforts and supports in death ; *real* judgment ; *real* punishment for unrepented sin ; *real* salvation by Christ ; *real* ministry of angels ; *real* communion of saints ; *real* hopes of glory, and life of the world to come.

The English Catholic does not judge “ those who are without ” ; he rejoices in goodness

wherever it is found ; he believes that “ grace overflows the Sacraments,” that there are those who are “ Crypto-Catholics ”—Catholics without knowing it—in other Christian bodies, under loss indeed, but through no fault of their own.

His ideal is firmness and faithfulness to the faith taught by the Church, to her sacramental system, her Creeds, her Scriptures, her traditions ; steady struggle against all that opposes the Truth ; loyalty to the Unseen ; love to God and charity towards all men. An ideal difficult, as all must feel, to turn into a practical reality, but always to be attempted by the grace of God.

He holds that—without judging others—to live according to the teaching of the Catholic Church is the path of salvation marked out by God, and thus his Faith supplies a simple Gospel suited to the minds of all.

The baptized child is *regenerate*, becomes a part of the Body of Christ, is to be brought up as a child of God. He learns to say his prayers, to hold intercourse with his heavenly Father, and to ask help from Him to do right. He learns to take part in the worship of the Church, to “ hear Mass,” to observe the Lord’s Day, to be dutiful towards parents and teachers.

As times of trial and temptation become more severe, he receives further strength through the laying on of hands with prayer in the Sacrament of Confirmation.

He is admitted to receive the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Communion.

He is taught to keep his conscience clean and clear, if he falls into any sin to repent, and he is offered the opportunity for confessing his sins and receiving the Absolution of the Church, as it may be needed.

Then he tries again, and, advancing in the path of prayer, worship, penitence, duty, he lives the life of a true child of God, living worthily of the high calling and the dignity of his baptism—if he turn away, turning back again to his Father, *i.e.* living the converted life: and all by the grace and love of the Lord Jesus his Saviour through whose merits and mercy he has the help of the Holy Spirit, whose temple he is. He has the joy of a good life, comfort in sorrow, consolation in his dying hour, and, by the mercy of God, the hope of glory. This is the simple Gospel of Christ suited for poor and rich, for high and low alike. This is the practical method of the Catholic Church for the training of a soul for God's glory, for its own salvation.

V

THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT

A VERY different ideal seems to possess the minds of those who are called, or who call themselves, "Liberal Churchmen."

The word "Liberal" is one of those elastic catchwords which exercise so much sway in this country, and which are often made to do duty for argument. Such catchwords impose very easily upon large numbers of unthinking people ; and consequently in religion, as well as in politics, such a word as "Liberal" has often been made to do yeoman's service in the cause of reaction. The ideal of "Liberalism" in Churchmanship is difficult to define. It is vague ; it is elusive, it is changeful. Some upholders of it go farther than others. Some shrink from the exact statements of a dogmatic faith ; others openly disbelieve much that the Church teaches, and explain away its clearest and most unequivocal statements ; some are at the bottom of the

decline ; some only halfway down ; some only at the beginning of the descent. They are, however, at one on certain points. While some hold parts of the Catholic Faith which happen to commend themselves to their minds at the moment, they are really out on the open sea, and may be driven by any chance current or changeful wind.

The " Liberal " Movement of our time—which is responsible for such an increase of indifferentism and irreligion in the country generally, had its beginning—like the Tractarian Movement—in Oxford. The thoughtful historian of that movement,¹ when narrating the catastrophe on the condemnation of Mr. Ward, and the attempted condemnation of Tract XC., writes as follows :

" But that crisis had another important result, not much noticed then, but one which made itself abundantly evident in the times that followed. The decisive breach between the old parties in the Church, both Orthodox and Evangelical, and the new party of the movement, with the violent and apparently irretrievable discomfiture of the latter as the rising force in Oxford, opened the way and cleared the ground for the formation and power of a third school of opinion, which was to be the most formidable rival of the

¹ Dean Church, *The Oxford Movement*, chap. xix.

Tractarians, and whose leaders were eventually to succeed where the Tractarians had failed, in becoming the masters and the reformers of the University." "Liberalism"—the same authority goes on to say—"had hitherto been represented in Oxford in forms which, though respectable from intellectual vigour, were unattractive, sometimes even repulsive . . . dry, cold, supercilious, critical; they wanted enthusiasm, they [the "Liberals"] were out of sympathy with religion and the religious temper and aims. . . . The older Oxford Liberals were either intellectually aristocratic . . . or they were poor in character, Liberals from the zest of sneering and mocking . . . or from the convenience of getting rid of strict and troublesome rules of life. . . . But a younger set of men brought, mainly from Rugby and Arnold's teaching, a new kind of Liberalism. It was much bolder and more independent than the older forms, less inclined to put up with the traditional, more searching and inquisitive in its methods, more suspicious and daring in its criticism; but it was much larger in its views and its sympathies, and above all it was imaginative, it was enthusiastic, and, without much of the devotional temper, it was penetrated by a sense of the reality and seriousness of religion."

The older Liberals had "patronised Dissenters" and "given their votes for Whigs." These fraternised with Dissenters and looked upon modes of Church government as mere matters of varying convenience. "Out of the feuds and discords" (in Oxford of 1845)—the same writer goes on—"the Liberal party which was to be dominant in Oxford took its rise, soon to astonish old-fashioned Heads of Houses with new and deep forms of doubt more audacious than Tractarianism, and ultimately to overthrow not only the victorious authorities but the ancient position of the Church, and to recast from top to bottom the institutions of the University. The 13th of February was not only the final defeat and conclusion of the first stage of the [Tractarian] movement—it was the birthday of the modern Liberalism of Oxford."

The "Liberalism" of to-day bears marks of its parentage indeed, but it has advanced far beyond it. Its efforts in the two Universities have been crowned with complete success. Children of the Church, as they were, they are now (for better, for worse) "undenominational" institutions, and only in a very modified sense Christian at all. This may be, as one of the Bishops lately appeared to think, for the good of "the community." Whether or not that be

so, "The Liberal Churchmen" have succeeded all along the line in wresting the Universities from the Church who created them. It may even be open to question whether modern institutions (such as Keble and Selwyn and the Pusey House, in the founding of which Catholics struggled to preserve *some* Catholic teaching and atmosphere in the Universities) would be recognised by the fathers of the Oxford Movement as successfully fulfilling their *rôle*.

But if successful in the Universities, "Liberalism" has been even more so in, to a large extent, "overthrowing the ancient position of the Church." What its adherents would call its "breadth," what its opponents consider its "laxity," falls in well with "the natural man." Its "deep forms of doubt," its "audacious" handling of sacred things, have *told*. Prayer Book, Articles, Ordination promises notwithstanding, it has held its ground and maintained its teaching in the Church of England. Some may think this a blessing, others may think otherwise. That, however, is not the question now; it is as to the *fact* and its interpretation. The success of "The Liberals" is everywhere felt. They have affected the atmosphere of thought and practice. Doubt, questioning, and indifference reign throughout the country,

and spread in the Church. Their achievements in the regions of "the Higher Criticism" are fast shaking the English people out of the one staunch belief that clung to them more tenaciously than all others, when so much of their religion was "dragooned" out of them—belief in the Holy Scriptures. The Bishops complain of the neglect of "keeping Sunday," of an increase of civilised or uncivilised Paganism in what are called "the higher classes," and of an increase of commercial dishonesty in the commercial classes ; of a diminution in the number of candidates for Holy Orders, of "the absence of men from church." These matters form theses for debates in Church Congresses and the innumerable gatherings of that kind so usual at the present time.

The answer to questions on the subject is really not far to seek. Why should Sunday be observed if the Divine sanction for it is doubtful ? Why should men be ordained if they are to have no certainty of a Divine message to give and supernatural acts to be performed for the glory of God and the saving of souls ? Why should men look to have "hope" through "comfort of the Scriptures," when they can exercise only a provisional faith in the Bible ? They may, they are told, while waiting for

authoritative assurance, "cling devotedly to the traditional details," and when the authoritative decision comes it is to be from some unknown "court of trained experts!" By that time there will be a "provisional Bible." The worst is the comfort would be short-lived. By the time one expurgated Bible was settled by the "experts," another set of "trained experts" would be cutting it to pieces and preparing a fresh edition with further alterations. There would be no end to the energy of wild speculations arising out of baseless assumptions. When the Church is put aside as a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, as a witness of religious observances and duties, as a witness of a changeless message from God to man—then the "think what you like" of "Liberalism" is very soon translated into "Do what you like" by the average man. It is not that such things have not been before in the history of Christianity. They have. The peculiarity of our time is that "Liberalism" in its various degrees has established itself in the Church of England, and begins to conduct itself as though it were the true representative of the Christian teaching. This it is not. To be fair to "Liberal Churchmanship" and to show that, though it may be *tolerated*, it cannot but

be—to say the least—a very inadequate and in some respects a very inaccurate representative of the claims of the Church of England, we must form some conception of its most recent ideals.

This can be done without fear of misrepresenting “The Liberals.” There has been established not many years ago a society called “the Churchmen’s Union.” As “the English Church Union” exists for the *defence* of the doctrine and discipline of the English Church, so *this* would appear to exist for the *attack*. The society would not perhaps, so explain its *raison d’être*, but we can gather from the various exponents of its ideals that this is, at present, practically the case. We learn something of its meaning and mind from leading members of it, as well as from the published statements of its objects. First, we may consider the statements of some of its more prominent members. These will enable us to understand the true “inwardness” of its declared “objects,” and furnish us with an authentic description of modern “Liberalism” in the Church of England.

We learn that the idea is to emancipate the Christian religion from rigid subservience to the forms and theories which have hitherto explained it. Further, the essential facts of Christianity

are to be expressed "in the terms of contemporary thought." The religious, moral, and intellectual temper of "the modern Christian community" has outgrown old forms (*i.e.* the Creeds). There is, so it is said, a decay of interest in "the historic institution whose task it is to teach the Christian Faith" (*i.e.* in the Church of England). The Church, it appears, "is an invisible society," as "the spiritual conscience of the age," is not decaying, only developing. This "Church" loses interest in its "visible counterpart" because the latter attaches importance to Creeds; and so "the great conflict at the present moment is not a contest between faith and unbelief; it is a conflict between the visible and invisible Church." "To bring this conflict to an end," it appears, "is the task of modern theology."

Then we learn that we are not to take the New Testament as literally true. We have to learn from "modern theology" that it was owing to the mental outlook and attitude of the age that New Testament writers wrote as they did. Our mental outlook is different, so theirs is only interesting to us because "all ordinary historical considerations were made subsidiary to the one supreme purpose of awakening, stimulating, and defending the Christian Faith"—*i.e.*, in

fact, although much of the New Testament is “scientifically” untrue, it teaches in its own manner—inferior of course to “modern thought”—“the Christian Faith.” It appears, however, that “the substance of Christian belief,” whilst “expressed in terms of unrivalled beauty and simplicity” in the New Testament, is to be delivered from these and to be expressed “in the ideas and terminology of modern life.” We are to get rid of “the antique conceptions,” “the imaginative forms of poetry, legend, and mythology,” used by the Divine Spirit in the past, and apparently to enable “the Divine Spirit” to speak to the human heart in terms suited to “the modern mind.” If we ask who is to work this, who is to pick out the essential facts of Christianity from their worn-out terms in the New Testament (however “unrivalled” be “the beauty and simplicity” of those terms), who is to enlighten the Church, *i.e.* the visible Church, as to the truths so clear to the invisible Church,—the answer is, This is “the task of modern theology.” We are warned that “until it has succeeded in making these facts clear to the Church it is to be feared that all but a languid interest in ecclesiastical institutions will be confined to a diminishing section of the population who are

still living in the mental environment of the past."

One cannot refrain from asking, in passing, If all this be true, why any cause for *fear*? "Ecclesiastical institutions" are not *for their own sake* objects of desire. Why should they exist at all, if this triumphant "invisible Church" has all the truth, and all the intellectual insight, and all the revelation to the modern mind? May not the "obscurantists" (that is the favourite term of the "Liberals" for those who hold the Catholic Faith), as they are a "diminishing section of the population," be left to die in peace by the necessary process of atrophy? Why this "conflict between the invisible Church and the visible, seeing that the visible, without the inconvenience of battle, is—according to our modern Prophets—doomed to extinction? That by the way. Let us learn further.

Having consigned tenderly to a not altogether unhonoured grave the "unrivalled beauty and simplicity" of the New Testament, the "simpler formulas of Apostolic times," this great power "Modern Theology" has to turn its attention to the destruction of the Creeds. The Catholic Creeds, we learn, arose "in the intellectual climate and out of the peculiar mental soil"

created by a "rarified medium of abstruse speculative conceptions into which it is impossible for simple, practical Christian experience to follow them," and therefore, naturally, impossible for usefulness to the Modern Mind. These Creeds, therefore, have "no valid claims to finality." "The Divine Spirit" would appear to have allowed these unintelligible Creeds for the practical needs of the official Church of the Roman Empire. Nay, strange to say, the Creeds which, during all these ages since the fourth century, have held their ground and furnished strength and guidance to millions of high and low, rich and poor, are only the Christian Faith steeped in speculative, metaphysical conceptions, from which this great power "modern theology" is to release religion, and re-express the religious substance of the Creeds in terms acceptable to the modern mind.

It appears at once that "the Church," *i.e.* "the visible Church," is all wrong. Somewhere in her New Testament and her Creeds lie the essential truths of religion, but some power—variously described as "the invisible Church," or "modern theology," or a "court of trained experts"—is to discover and reveal what *the essence* is, and then rid it of all the wrappings of Palestinian or

Greek thought, and dress it out—when found—in terms acceptable to the modern mind.

Having achieved the destruction of the New Testament “setting” of essential Christianity, and then of the “setting” of “Greek metaphysical conceptions,” *i.e.* the Creeds, “Liberalism” has a comparatively easy task with the various “confessions” or “official formulæ” of the Christian faith, dating from the sixteenth century.

This is more difficult, however, from one point of view, as the “Liberals” are bound by the Prayer Book and Articles of the Church of England. However, the task is undertaken (1) by misstating and confusing the outward witness of the Church and the interior experience of the Christian Churchman, and (2) by a pretty free handling of the question of clerical subscription.

As to (1): “The Christian faith is a very practical and concrete theory. . . . We believe, in spite of troubling shadows and absurdities, that we perceive a profound import in the heart of things, a meaning which is identical with all that is best and highest in ourselves. . . . Religion does not translate these experiences into the abstract terminology of science and philosophy,” so we learn. Then further we learn, “it [religion] can only speak of them in the figurative language of

emotion, poetry, imagery." "This, however, does not detract from their reality and convincing force." Then what is the "abiding basis" of the Christian faith? What is its supreme witness? The Church is *not* "the pillar and ground of the truth." No, that is a mistake. The real "pillar and ground" is "the ethical and spiritual experience arising out of the effort to lead a Christian life." Then we learn that "this religious experience" is to be emancipated from "traditional theories." It is no longer to be "dependent on infallible institutions, infallible books, and infallible dogmas"—that is, the Christian faith is to be an "experience" only, and the Church, the Bible, the Creeds are to go. We learn this remarkable truth, that "the facts of the Christian Faith are [by no means the life, teaching, death, resurrection of the Lord, nor the work of the Holy Spirit, nor the teaching of the Canonical Scriptures, nor the sacramental means of grace, nor the sacred ministry, nor the witness of the Catholic Church, as we had blindly supposed, but] the *facts* of the Christian faith are "the ethical and spiritual expression which the highest types of humanity have had of it [of what?] as an emancipating, purifying, and renovating power"!

It appears that "the theories"—*i.e.* the Creeds

and God's revelations to His Church—that *these* have brought “religion into conflict and collision with modern conceptions of the world and life”; and as the one important thing apparently is to bring everything into harmony with these “modern conceptions”—then the Church and the Creeds must go.

Naturally—as all the teachings of the Church, especially the Creeds, must go—something must be substituted for these. We are to substitute—so we learn—“personalities”; we are to “consult personalities,” not formularies.

So instead of Creeds and formularies we must consult “men like St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Francis, Dante, Pascal.” Nay, we may also consult the “experiences” which are “also expressed, with wonderful restraint, attractiveness, simplicity, solemnity, in the best collects of the English Church.”

In these, it appears, we find “the substance of the Christian religion manifesting itself.” Hence that substance appears “in a life at once of self-sacrifice and self-development; of severity towards self, and charity towards others; of fortitude in adversity, of patience in disappointment, of hope in periods of darkness, of zeal combined with knowledge, of active and unselfish interest in the

welfare of society, as well as of the individuals of which it is composed." "The Christian faith," we are told, "is an inward experience as well as an outward life." It is for this reason we are to "consult" not "theories," *i.e.* Creeds, but "personalities."

Was ever such a jumble? Was ever such confusion of thought? If we consulted "personages" "like St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Francis, Dante, Pascal," they would make short work of such moonshine. Their holy lives and high experiences depended upon *revealed facts*—facts which science or criticism could neither discover nor disprove; facts as to God's own life, His revelation of Himself in the co-eternal Son, His work by the Blessed Spirit—the One God in three subsistencies; facts as to the earthly life, work, death, resurrection, ascension of the Lord Jesus Christ; facts as to His Church, His Sacraments, the power of prayer, immortality, the meaning and awfulness of sin and its consequences, unless arrested, unless forgiven;—facts, in fact, not "theories," revealed, according to Christ's promise, to His Church. From holding the Faith of the Church with a living faith came their "experiences" and their holy lives. The Christian Religion is not a bundle of "experiences" resting on no objective revelation.

It is not a pyramid standing on its point. It is a revelation—and where that is grasped and lived through faith, by each soul, there indeed are lofty virtues and sacred “experiences.” “Modern theology,” it appears, has its “task” to create “experiences” without any ground for them, to set the pyramid on its point. It recognises no responsibility for belief; no danger in rejecting the Faith—and naturally, for there is no Faith to reject. The whole thing resolves itself into *individualism*. Why should there be a “conviction that the Spirit of Christ is the incarnate spirit of goodness,” when there is every sort of doubt thrown by the “Liberals” on the revealed facts of His life; when His miracles—if any of them are allowed to exist at all—are sometimes only myths, sometimes only parables; when—according to them—He could not be the Divine Teacher, seeing that He stated things to be true which their “criticism” pronounces to be false, and often therefore misled men when He professed to teach them infallibly?

Having discarded the Church, the Bible (except selections accepted by some of them, rejected by others), the Creeds, the historic Christ—they attempt to weave a Christianity out of their own passing notions and “experiences.”

Under such circumstances professions of *ex animo* assent to the formularies of the Church of England became impossible. Subscription on the part of the clergy, holding these opinions and holding ministerial office in the Church of England, presented a serious difficulty. It is a curious nemesis on the "Liberal" Churchmen that such a difficulty should present itself. Their predecessors had hounded one of the best of men, and the greatest genius, probably, of the nineteenth century, out of the Church of England with a storm of obloquy, and such missiles as "dishonest," "Jesuitical," "non-natural," etc., for interpreting the Thirty-nine Articles in their literal and grammatical sense. Every one now admits that Tract XC. was a very moderate statement of the truth, but we know to what lengths party passion carried the Liberals of those days in their assault on Dr. Newman. And now their lineal descendants—so to speak—with all their "Higher Criticism," their semi-Arianism, and their assaults on the Creeds, stand confronted by the first eight Articles, to the truth of which they are pledged, and which—from their point of view—are difficult, if not impossible, to deal with. It is a strange nemesis!

To meet this difficulty, however, the "Liberal"

Churchmen have, as we shall see, their plans matured. The consideration of these, as well as of some of their chief efforts in the direction of "Liberal" thought, will throw some light on their ideal of Churchmanship directly contrary, as, to an English Catholic, it appears to be, to the declared witness of the Church of England.¹

¹ See for authority as to this view of "Liberalism" and the quotations made, *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 1, Nov. 1904, especially "The Task of Liberal Theology," by Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL.D.

VI

THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT

(Continued)

PRACTICAL METHODS

WE turn therefore to (2), viz. the question of subscription. It is an interesting study to examine by what means the "Liberals" *get over* the difficulty of subscription to the formularies of the Church so as to enable them to carry out this ideal without *appearing* to violate (and, no doubt, believing that they do not violate) their undertakings solemnly made. "The task of modern theology" is with them, as we have seen, "to widen and develop the religious life of the community by advocating and ventilating the claims and principles of liberal religious thought within the Church of England."¹ That, being further translated in plain English, means to "emancipate"

¹ Rev. W. D. Morrison, "The Task of Liberal Theology," *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 1, Nov. 1904.

the Church from "theories," that is, the Creeds, and to decide what are "the essential facts of the Christian faith" and then "to re-express and explain them in the terms of contemporary thought." The task of the "Liberals," as we have seen, is further to wage war in behalf of what they consider "the invisible Church" against "the visible Church," so that "the modern mind" may take an interest in this new-found "invisible Church," having ceased to take an interest in "the great historic institution," *i.e.* "the visible Church."

This enterprise—good or bad, for we are not at this moment discussing its merits—might, manifestly, be easily undertaken by outsiders, and indeed has been undertaken. Happily, we live in a fairly free country and a fairly free age, and an unbeliever, or loose thinker, or vague theorist, has as much right to express his views as a Catholic Christian, and in expressing them is answerable to his own conscience and God. He boldly assaults the visible Church, and our part of it—the English Church—from without. It is manifestly more difficult for those within who, with whatever good intentions, determine to attack their Mother Church.

The Church of England is notoriously wanting

in these "liberal" views of "modern theology." She teaches explicitly, in Creeds and formularies, in the Articles and the Prayer Book, what the "Liberals" do not believe; and the attack is not from without but from within—it cannot be by assault, it must be by the method of sapping and mining. As the "Liberal" clergy, at least, are bound by their solemn promises and their subscription to the formularies, these promises and subscriptions undoubtedly present formidable obstacles to the working out of "the task of 'Liberal' theology," to the working out of the "Liberal" ideal.

However, "modern theology" and Liberal Churchmanship are resourceful, and they have methods of dealing with promises and subscription to formularies which—whether we approve of them or not—are certainly interesting.

And here it is to be noted that the "task" is specially formidable, as the "Liberal" has to do not merely with a rubric here or there which the *communis sensus* of the Church has allowed to become obsolete, but he has to deal with the central documents of the Church—the Holy Scriptures, the Creeds, the whole devotional teaching of the Prayer Book—on which all depends.

We are able to gather from the statements of

one who speaks with some authority on advanced Liberalism in the Church of England what the methods with regard to subscriptions are.

It is acknowledged that Liberal Anglicans are driven to consider "the legitimate limits of subscription": that the "liberty" claimed appears to lead to "indefensible individualism" which might easily become "immoral anarchy." Quite true. Now we learn how a "Liberal" may subscribe to our formularies and give himself at the same time to his "task" of altering their meaning to suit the "modern mind."

It appears that all the candidate for the ministry must be required to do is (1) *to declare himself a Christian man*. This, it appears, is a guarantee for religious sincerity, which is what is wanted, not orthodoxy. The writer who tells us this has a naturally low view of "orthodoxy," as he describes what the Church has ever considered right belief as opposed to heresy as "that ever shifting but ever unyielding conglomerate of pious opinion which is called 'orthodoxy.'" ¹ However, we are told that, as "no reasonable man" would think of drafting "new formularies to replace the old," now while "religious thought is in a fluid state and when many questions of

¹ Henley Henson, *Notes on Popular Rationalism*, p. 9.

first-rate importance are actually under debate," we must be content with "the old traditional formularies." The way to do so, it appears, is to adopt the Apostles' Creed as the one formula for subscription. As this Creed, however, itself "does not stand outside the sphere of legitimate questioning," we do not appear at first to have got on much farther. That, however, is a short-sighted view.

(2) There must indeed even here be varieties of interpretation. To this, however, are to be limits. The limits make the one authoritative document left to us, merely to be—in spite of all its inaccuracies, exposed by modern science—a handy form for affirming "discipleship." One would have imagined, by the way, that an even simpler statement of that fact would be nearer the mark than this "short and simple" "traditional formulary" which is to *bind* clergy and laity alike; not that they are to believe its clauses necessarily, but interpret them as each one pleases, this "freedom" limited only by "a general understanding" that they mean "discipleship." However, there is a further step necessary.

(3) The candidate for the ministry is "to endorse *ex animo the distinctive attitude of the Church*" in which he ministers, "*with respect to*

other Churches and to burning questions of religious politics.'"

(4) There is one other important point, it appears, viz. that in the Anglican Church the clergy are "to pledge themselves to accept the practical system of the Church."

So we find that the "Liberal" ideal of the obligations to be undertaken by the English clergy is :

(1) To declare themselves Christian men.

(2) To affirm "discipleship" (by assenting *generally* to the Apostles' Creed, while not necessarily believing its clauses).

(3) To endorse *ex animo the distinctive attitude* of the Church towards other Churches and to burning questions of religious politics, and

(4) To *accept* the practical system of the Church.¹

Alas ! even the principles of " Liberalism " are not free from difficulty ; even " the new Lights " have a touch of " obscurantism " (supposed to be the special possession of Catholics). Even the " thoughtful men " (all " Liberals " would appear

¹ See *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 1, Nov. 1904 : " Clerical Subscription," by Rev. H. Hensley Henson, B.D., Canon of Westminster.

to have a monopoly of "thoughtfulness") are sometimes in a fog.

(1) To declare oneself "a Christian man"—that is supposed to be simple. Is it? Again we need interpretation. What is "Christianity"? The "Liberals" are all at "sixes and sevens" about it. So far as anything can be discovered from their various writings, it bears but a faint resemblance to what has been supposed to have a right to that title in the past. Sometimes it is a philosophy; sometimes it is a rigid interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount—which not one of them literally obeys. Sometimes it is an "experience," but "experiences" are multiple and diverse and so on. Only one thing is certain—it is *not* Christianity as now taught by the Church of England; so we can only conclude that when the candidate for Holy Orders is first to declare himself a *Christian man*, he means anything or nothing—according to what *he* conceives Christianity to be, or according to the latest decision of "a court of trained experts" (which he will have to go in search of), or according to "the modern mind."

(2) He is guided, however, to find it in "a personal discipleship to the Divine Lord," in "an attitude of the individual towards Jesus Christ." Here again, however, he is in a difficulty. What "the

Divine Lord " means is a question. We are taught that probably the infallible " historic method " leads to a belief that in the Church's assertion of the Virgin Birth, this " episode of St. Luke " has in it " a trace of an original equation of Christ with Horus." Then " the view of the birth of Christ . . . that He was really the son of Joseph and Mary corresponds to the Egyptian belief that Horus, as regards his body, was really the son of the high priest of Memphis and his wife." Then we learn, if this " turn out to be inevitable," still " the narrative "—*i.e.* the untruth asserted in the Apostles' Creed—" would still have a value for every devout mind." What is that value? It appears to be this—" we must infer that *all* souls are, in their measure, incarnations of God," but the assertion in the Christian Creed enshrines " the great truth that Christ was indeed the incarnation of God *par excellence*." ¹

So the " candidate for the ministry " under the guiding of " Liberalism " may find his " discipleship " to a " Divine Christ " is really " discipleship to a pre-eminent man of whose history and sayings " the Higher Criticism " is making mincemeat. Such " discipleship " is not very

¹ See *The Liberal Churchman*, June, 1905: " The Ebionites and the Virgin Birth," by Rev. J. H. Wilkinson.

valuable as a test for fitness for the ministry, as hitherto conceived of by the Church of England.

(3) There is, one would suppose, some difficulty in the third test for subscription.

The candidate is *ex animo* to endorse "the *distinctive attitude* of the Church . . . with respect to other Churches and to burning questions of religious politics."

As we are also told that "it is clear in the present state of Christendom any man who feels himself divinely called to the Christian ministry must decide to what section of the Christian society he will attach himself," one thing will be clear to him one would think, as a conscientious man—he cannot, under the guidance of "Liberalism" "attach himself" to the Church of England. The "attitude of the Church of England, rightly or wrongly, towards the Churches" is that there is One Holy Catholic Church; that—owing to the sins and quarrels of the past—the Eastern part of that great family has been in external separation from the Western; that owing to the sins and convulsions of the sixteenth century there has been a quarrel in the Western part of the family and consequently a break in external communion; that the Church of England had no desire for such separation, and

prays for a restoration of external union, as she believes there is an interior bond through the common reception of true Sacraments ministered by a true Priesthood ; that there is, by Divine appointment, a three-fold ministry by succession from the Apostles, and so appointed by Christ ; that there are many separated bodies more or less heretical—but without a Divine ministry or true Sacraments ; that many members of these bodies are separated through no fault of their own, and so, though “ under loss,” are helped by “ the grace that overflows the Sacraments ” and by such parts of the Faith as they still hold ; that heresy is a sin ; that it is the duty of the Catholic ministry to “ banish and drive away strange doctrines and contrary to God’s Word ” ; and so on. And as to “ the burning questions of religious politics,” the members of the ministry may act freely about them so long as they are faithful to their undertakings to be loyal to the Catholic Church, the Canonical Scriptures which she has received and guards, and the Catholic Creeds which they are bound to hold as “ thoroughly to be received and believed.” “ Liberalism ” will only guide him into its usual labyrinth here.

For instance, he will learn that he may “ value Episcopacy as connecting us with the past and

with the Episcopal Churches of East and West, without allowing its absence to separate us from Churches [*i.e.* the various more or less heretical sects] with which we have really so much more in common." He will learn that "the ministerial office possesses no special gifts of grace and no *character indelebilis*," and that therefore, we may add, the form of his ordination in the Church of England is *neither more nor less than a profane farce*.¹

He will learn that "the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession" is one which it is right to preach against because it is "an obstacle to Christian unity and Christian charity." That is, in plain English, he must not accept "the attitude of the Church," but must "preach against it."²

Here it may be remarked how strangely *impossible* is the position and ideal of the "Liberal" Churchman in the Anglican Communion with reference to Church order. All "the Churches" (*i.e.* the sects) are really right and the same. The "invisible" Church, as we have seen, has to fight the "visible." Bishops are interesting and so on as reminding us of the past. As a Divine

¹ *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 3, June, 1905: "Review of Dr. Rashdall's Sermons," by Rev. Dr. W. D. Morrison.

² *Ibid.*

institution they are absurd. Very well, here we have a highly "spiritual" set of "Liberal" Christians supporting a form of Church government which causes dissension among all those Christians whose "experiences" are the only test of truth!

Bishops—it must be clearly said—are either a Divine institution or they are an expensive luxury. *Expensive* not only in £ s. d., but in much more. If they are not a Divine necessity, their existence is not merely a sin—nay, one may say, it is a crime. What right have "Liberal" Churchmen to be ministers in a society whose organisation (according to their view) is illiberal, and more than absurd—nay, wicked? For if Bishops are not a Divine necessity—let it be remembered and repeated—they ought not to exist. They are not *obviously* for the *bene esse* of their Church. There have been many unfaithful Bishops who have hindered religion by their sheer worldliness and popularity-hunting. If they are not of the *esse* of the Church, to tolerate them, to spend money and effort in multiplying Sees, is *wrong*, obviously *wrong*. So your spiritual "Liberal" Churchman cannot defend his consistency by finding it right "to preach against the Apostolic

Succession of Bishops" ; he must " preach against the existence of Bishops at all." If they are abolished then " the Churches " may be united. He must shake the dust off his feet against a Church with Bishops. Does he do so ? Not at all ! Here he is at home in it ! Can he pretend to set a *sentiment* against a *plain duty* ? Can he " value episcopacy as connecting us with the past, and with the Episcopal Churches of East and West " (which Churches he abhors and abuses as sinks of " superstition ") when it separates him from " Churches with which we have really much more in common " ? The " Liberal " Churchman is, as in many other ways, to a Catholic, ethically amazing !

(4) He is still more amazing when we consider his further test for " candidates for the ministry." They are, whatever happens, " to pledge themselves to accept the practical system of the Church"—*i.e.*, we find, the candidate has to accept it " in its broad intention," not in " minor points"! His acceptance has the reserve of intending " to remedy the defects." He may *conscientiously* object in " things " (which *he* thinks) " essential." No one can plead conscience in " disobeying the law " as to " things which are " (as the " Liberal " Churchman thinks) " indifferent."

The result is interesting. The law must "enforce a precise acceptance of doctrinal definitions." "*It can secure nothing more, because it can enforce nothing more than external confession.*"

Hence we learn that the "Liberal" Churchman is right, spiritual, loyal, if, having *promised ex animo* assent to doctrinal definitions, he refuses to give it *because* the law cannot enforce it, and yet to remain in the ministry which he holds subject to that promise! This may be a highly moral conclusion for a person of spiritual "experience," it does not appear free from moral taint to an untutored, unsophisticated, "obscurantist" mind. "In the lower sphere of external action," however, "the State can enforce its will." Here he can obey, as he is acting only "ministerially."¹

So the "Liberal" Churchman is now, we find, able to do things and say things which he does not in the least believe. His "concern can never be more than ministerial." He has "contracted" for "the performance of legally prescribed duties." If he does not fulfil them "it is a breach of contract" which must not be, because he is "secured by the law in the possession of dignities and emoluments." Accordingly his duty

¹ See *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 1, Nov. 1904: Rev. H. Hensley Henson on "Clerical Subscription."

is to say things—to say “ I believe ” in the Creeds, for instance, though he does *not* believe—for he has “ contracted ” in his “ ministerial ” capacity to say them. His duty is to say all the Prayer Book puts into his mouth—as for instance “ the Baptismal Office,” which “ unquestionably expresses baptismal regeneration ” — without believing a word of it !¹

On the same principle, of course, he could consecrate in the service for the Blessed Sacrament with a “ conscientious ” disbelief of the whole thing. This may be according to the morality of “ Liberal ” Churchmen, it does not seem in accordance with the moral teaching of Christ, nor does it commend itself to the unsophisticated, “ unliberalised ” moral sense of most men. It appears, however, that the “ ministerial ” character only allows a “ minister of the Church ” to assert any number of falsehoods in his “ ministerial ” character if he does not disapprove of “ the main drift and spirit ” of the Church’s teaching. If he disapproves of *that*, then even “ ministerially ” he cannot, with a good conscience, continue to utter falsehoods in the worship of God. Otherwise he may continue

¹ See *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 1, Nov. 1904 : Rev. H. Hensley Henson on “ Clerical Subscription.”

this course of "ministerial" false praying and teaching, *provided that* he use his opportunities "to correct whatever fault he perceives in the system."

What is still more interesting, though perplexing to a Catholic, in this peculiar ethical code of the "Liberal" Churchman is this: That "an honest acceptance" of this (to less illuminated minds) dishonest procedure has the effect of providing "an indirect but most effective protection against religious insincerity"! The reason is that the "minister" who in his "ministerial" capacity has—according to "contract"—publicly, and in the worship of God, to utter so many falsehoods is using a service which is "everywhere inspired by the conviction that Christ is Divine," and so he must be a "very cynical and callous hypocrite . . . unless within his own personal life that conviction were paramount."¹

This is not meant, so we are told, and naturally enough, to touch mere questions of rubrics, some of them obsolete. No. This has to do with the "doctrinal confessions" of the Church. And the clear assertion is "the official ministry must, in their administrations, obey the law." If

¹ See *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 1, Nov. 1904: Rev. H. Hensley Henson on "Clerical Subscription."

“the law” compels them to utter falsehoods, some *obscurantists* might feel inclined to say “Then why be an official minister?” That is a narrow, “illiberal” view. The falsehoods have only to be uttered “ministerially,” so that apparently puts it all right! To untrained, unenlightened minds this peculiar ethical system might appear rather closely related to what Protestant rancour has (rightly or wrongly) attributed to the followers of St. Ignatius. “Not at all, my good friend,” one is reminded, “this protects all but the cynical and callous from religious insincerity; you only fulfil the terms of a contract; you only say ‘I believe’ when you do not believe, ‘ministerially’; you have the intention all the time within the limits of your opportunities to correct whatever you do not approve of; you enable men to be candidates for the ministry, however much they disbelieve the words they have to utter, if only they approve in the main of the system.”

Thus does the “Liberal Churchman” sweep aside the trifling difficulties of subscription to the Church’s formularies, and “contract” in the Church—in spite of all her false statements—as a “minister.”

The ethics of the position to some of us seem

perplexing! Perhaps we are only "callous or cynical" instead of "liberal." However, learning this we get nearer the true measure of the "Liberal" ideal for Church Reform.

We are told "subscription has a very definite meaning indeed for Broad Churchmen." Apparently so. To some not so "liberal" the "definite meaning" would appear to be (though of course Liberals do not allow this to themselves) "Do evil, on a large scale, in serious matters, that good may come."

VII

THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT

(Continued)

THE BIBLE

IN seeking for the ideal of "Liberal" Churchmen, we have found that at any rate they desire a restatement of the Church's dogmas ; that they have a strong dislike to dogma ; and that their view appears to be that the task of modern theology is to turn inside-out the teachings of the Church and re-sort them so as to suit the "modern mind." We have noticed that they have no belief in Episcopacy as a Divine institution, although they are interested in it sentimentally, so to speak, as reminding them of the past ; that they seem altogether oblivious that the existence of the three orders which the Church of England teaches to be the necessary part of her organisation is, if not a Divine necessity, a very serious sin, as stereotyping separation from the "Churches" (*i.e.* the more or less heretical bodies)

which the "Liberal" Churchman looks upon as of much the same authority as the Church.¹ We have also seen that the difficulty which ordinary people would have imagined to be serious—of "Liberal" clergymen ministering in a Church whose teachings they do not believe—is got over by the interesting expedient of holding to three leading ideas which we may place in the form of three propositions, as follows :

(1) The "Liberal" clergyman must have a general agreement with the general drift of the Church's system.

(2) This being so, he may "ministerially" make statements in the public services of the Church, such as "this child is regenerate" in the

¹ The Bishop of Hereford endorses, with laudatory recommendation, certain views of the "eloquent Canons" (one now the Dean) of Westminster as to "overtures to our Nonconformist brethren" and the "importance of reconsidering some conventional views." The chief "conventional view" is a belief in Episcopacy. Any Bishop who believes in his office, it appears from the Dean of Westminster, is under "perpetual temptation to take refuge in . . . a practical Sectarianism," *i.e.* he does not recognise Nonconforming ministers as being as much ordained as himself.

The simple plan, then, is to abolish the Episcopate. We are (so the Dean says) in a "condition of spiritual isolation." Well, the Bishop of Hereford can take a short and easy method, *viz.* resign his bishopric, and agitate for the abolition of Episcopacy. The point, however, is—all this is *not* the teaching of the Church of England. See the Bishop of Hereford's Charge, May, 1904.

baptismal service, or the Athanasian Creed—statements which he believes to be false ; and that, somehow, this use of a “ ministerial ” conscience, as distinct from his own conscience, preserves him from insincerity.

(3) That this position is only justified on condition that he uses all his opportunities to alter the Church’s teaching and system so as to suit his belief.

It will be seen, in passing we may say, that, as “ Liberal ” Churchmen are in a great variety of degrees of “ belief ” and “ unbelieving,” the changes to be worked out as one of the ideals of a “ Liberal ” Churchman’s aim must be very various and very extensive. There is an old story of some people admiring a stained glass window representing the crucifixion of our Lord, and desiring, one, all the yellow glass, another all the blue, another all the crimson, and so on, until, having got what they wanted, they looked up with astonishment to find that the Christ was gone.

It would appear, so far as we have groped towards the “ Liberal ” Churchman’s ideal, that if it can be carried out thoroughly there will in the end be no Church, nor indeed any Christ. However, let us proceed. The question now

arises, How has the "Liberal" Churchman endeavoured to fulfil the third condition mentioned above, as the condition which enables him conscientiously to state in church "ministerially" what he believes to be falsehoods? In order to do this, without insincerity, it will be remembered that he must use all opportunities for substituting what he believes to be true for these various false "details" of the teaching of the Church. How is this done at present? It will be found that the method is (1) to use what is called the Higher Criticism for overthrowing the authority of the Bible, and (2) to attack the Creeds as the chief strongholds of what he calls "traditionalism." We must give the "Liberal" Churchman credit for standing firmly by his third condition, and for therefore attacking the Bible and the Creeds to the utmost of his power.

The attack on the Bible is carried on by means of the Higher Criticism. By the Higher Criticism is meant, as we learn from its advocates, "the inner study of Scripture."¹ It was called "Higher" to distinguish it from mere textual criticism. It is said to aim at the historical interpretation of Scripture. All this may be, but the question is,

¹ Nash's *History of the Higher Criticism*, p. 18.

On what *principles* does the Higher Criticism proceed? "All criticism," it has been truly said, "*really* proceeds on certain principles," preliminary assumptions for the critic to go upon. "The question in all cases is, Whence do the preliminary assumptions come?"¹ That *is* the question. Here there is a yawning gulf between the Catholic critic and the modern higher critic of the Bible. The Catholic critic finds his assumptions in the teachings of the Catholic Church, in the general sense of that Church. The modern higher critic finds his assumptions in "his own notion of the fitness of things, or from the outcome of literature at large."²

Dr. Liddon in a letter published in his *Life* says as follows: "When I saw Dr. Döllinger a year ago, we were talking about Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*. I forget how many 'assumptions' he told me he had counted, when at last he could stand it no longer, and put the book down."³ The higher critic really *assumes* whatever he pleases, and then upon that assumption proceeds to speculate about the Bible. In proportion as the assumptions are arbitrary, the speculations become wild. The watchwords of modern criticism are "histori-

¹ *Life of Dr. Liddon*, p. 365.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

cal," and "scientific." "Scientific" indeed is used ordinarily as a comfortable word, like "Mesopotamia" to the old woman—by people who set aside the teaching of the Church, and who often have a very vague idea of what "scientific" means. In the same way it must be remembered, as we find from the writings of the higher critics, that their assumptions are to be received as infallible dogmas. "It is impossible," or "it cannot be believed," or "it must be at once evident," or "all critics are agreed" (which, by the way, they never are)—such phrases are considered sufficient to support a purely arbitrary assumption, or baseless speculation.

To venture to question such infallible authority and suggest that "the Catholic Church of Christ" is more to be depended upon, is at once to win the scorn of the critics and to earn the nickname of "Obscurantist," or "Traditionalist" or "Reactionary." A thorough believer in the Higher Criticism, whose knowledge of the mediæval Church seems to be somewhat obscure, assures us that that Church "had lost the scientific apparatus for Bible study . . ." and that "the Latin text called the Vulgate was supreme. What with ignorance, and piety, and habit—a mighty triumvirate—men did not feel called to go behind it."

He seems to have little idea of the value assigned to the Vulgate by the modern higher critics even, though he acknowledges that "there were good reasons" for its "supremacy." His theory is that piety is closely related to mental laziness, and by means of ignorance and inertia great masses of traditions were accumulated upon the sacred text. He holds that there were biblical students in those dark ages, but that, when they were "strenuous" and "eager" like Bede, they were fatally handicapped by the lack of data. In fact, he seems to think, like a great many others in our own age—an age so darkened by ignorance, individualism, superstition, and worldliness—that the middle age was wholly dark.¹ This is merely to reiterate the parrot cry of the "Blessed Reformation," but we must not forget, amidst the self-assertion of the moment, the saying of the great scholar and historian Maitland that if the ages were "dark" "there was a very serviceable twilight."

The same writer justly attributes the rise of the Higher Criticism, with all its enormities, to the Protestantism of the sixteenth century. Protestantism as a *system* is incipient unbelief. It

¹ Prof. Nash, *The History of the Higher Criticism*, chap. iii. pp. 43, 44.

sets aside the teaching of the Church. It makes the individual the judge of all things. It has no reason to be angry when its principles have been carried out. It wrung the Sacred Writings out of the hands of the Church who alone could interpret them, and its principles have been followed out until the Bible has been left the shreds and tatters in which we find it. "Once started upon this road, where could Bible-study bring up short of the historical interpretation?"¹ Where indeed? And "historical interpretation" means the various guesses and speculations which each separate individual may choose to make on the ground of his own arbitrary assumptions. It is granted at once by the true upholders of Higher Criticism that "individualism" is the great thing. That reigned supreme in the eighteenth century in this country and in Germany, and produced what is called the "historical spirit" of the nineteenth century.

It need hardly be said that the higher critics in England are the devotees of what is called the "lay mind." In recent times we have been taught *ad nauseam*, especially by the higher ecclesiastical authorities, of the great value of the "lay mind."

¹ Prof. Nash, *The History of the Higher Criticism*, chap. iii. p. 68.

To listen to some of our modern Bishops, one might be led to suppose that a "layman" *as such* possesses a kind of Divine inspiration withheld from the clergy, and is able instinctively to treat of all subjects. It is not to be wondered at that, under such circumstances, the clergy are inclined to ask themselves whether, having once had the distinction of being laymen, they did wisely in falling from that high estate. Be that as it may, the layman is supposed to be specially "scientific," and therefore to love the application of scientific methods to the literary study of the Scriptures, and so to be especially favourable to the Higher Criticism and its peculiar methods of assuming what you like and building any speculation you please upon such assumption.

The attack on the Holy Scriptures carried on through the Higher Criticism is therefore represented as a sort of "concession" to the "lay mind," and a means of achieving that which seems to have provided subjects of great interest to speakers at Church congresses, viz. "How to get *men* to church?" This aspect of the Higher Criticism is to a Catholic supremely absurd. There is no such thing as the "lay mind." There is the human mind—whether "lay" or "clerical"—

which has to be instructed in Divine revelation, and which requires, if it means to use the Holy Scriptures rightly, to be taught from them by the Church, which is the "pillar and ground of the truth." Higher Criticism, then, is really the effort to bring the unsanctified Reason of fallen men to play upon the Word of God, without any guidance from the Church, to enable it to make any assumptions it pleases and to build upon them any speculations which commend themselves to the likings of the average fallen man.

That this is no exaggeration may be proved by two quotations from the historian of the Higher Criticism—himself a professor of New Testament interpretation in an Episcopal theological school: "Criticism," he says, "is not, primarily, any given set of opinions regarding the Bible. Not a few 'critical' opinions are less critical than some 'traditional' opinions, in as much as they are equally haughty and overbearing, and, at the same time, are farther from the real facts of the case. Criticism is not really this or that opinion; neither is it this or that body of opinions. It is an intellectual temperament, a mental disposition. Its promise is the unity of truth; authority shall not draw a line between 'sacred' truth and 'secular' truth: truth is one. The ideal is the

free study of all the facts, howsoever named and catalogued. . . . Access to the whole body of facts must be full and free. The Bible, if it is to be a permanent part of the Occidental layman's world,—the world of political freedom and reverent devotion (?) to truth,—if it will not content itself with being the 'Good Book' of weak women, and helpless children, and priests in petticoats, must come within reach of the scientific reason."¹

It may be remarked, in passing, how completely this bit of rhetorical folly bears out what has been said. We learn from it that the "lay mind" is infallible because it possesses the "scientific reason." According to this clap-trap women and children and priests (whether "in petticoats" or not) have nothing to do with such things. They may rot in their ignorance. The Church as a witness is discarded. The real standard of truth is the "lay mind" and "scientific reason" as applied to the Bible. Doubtless this leads to uncomfortable consequences. If we want a Bible we must have it expurgated so as to be able to distinguish what is true and what is false. Perhaps it would be a convenience if we had the true printed in red and the false in black.

¹ Prof. Nash's *History of the Higher Criticism*, pp. 84, 85.

But then the difficulty goes farther ; for the “critics,” using the “lay mind” and the “scientific reason” and discarding the authority of the Church, themselves differ so widely that we should be obliged to have so many Bibles, each under the authority of some different individual devoted to the Higher Criticism—to use St. John’s phrase in a very different sense—“the world itself could not contain the books that should be written,” or, more probably, the Bible would vanish altogether except as an interesting monument of the mistakes of the past ; and the “Liberal” Churchman would be freed from all anxiety and all danger of insincerity, as he could read out to the congregation any quantity of fictions without having anxiety, by the help of his “ministerial” conscience.

The Higher Criticism is pure “individualism” ; and as individuals are multiple, where is the Bible ? Where is the truth ? There is another quotation from the same author which brings this clearly into light. Before making it, however, let us remember the various schools of criticism in these later days which have led up to the critical thought of the immediate moment. There was the Tübingen. The great force of this school was Baur. His chief point was that Paul, not

Jesus, was practically the founder of Christianity ; although this he modified afterwards. He believed that St. Matthew's Gospel was the earliest. Those of his disciples who followed him moderated his views, and accepted the theory of St. Mark's Gospel being the first, which is still the most popular theory among critics. After Baur and the Tübingen school there were various ups and downs in Germany. De Wette and then Ewald attacked Baur. Then came Reuss, who was much nearer to the view of the Church. Then came Schleiermacher, who was by way of reconciling the religious and scientific. Martineau, in this country, did much to point out the flaws in his system ; although Schleiermacher remains a great power, as both personal piety and strong rationalism worked together in him. Then the great battle raged about (as it may be said in many respects still to rage about) the fourth Gospel. Bleek, the pupil of Schleiermacher, defended the fourth Gospel. The next person of importance in Germany was Ritschel. He began as one of the Tübingen school, but passed off into new views of his own. In more recent times came Harnack, who has been criticised in many important particulars by Loisy.

The work of Germany was deep, thoughtful,

rationalistic, and academic. In England the Higher Criticism has been borrowed from Germany. It is less thorough-going, because for the most part the critics are English clergymen (notwithstanding all the clap-trap about "the lay mind"), and a certain respect for their obligations to the teachings of the Church, as such, has prevented them from launching forth into the open sea. Still, as ever, it is pure individualism. "The critical conception of the Scriptures," it is said, "makes the student reverent of the rights of the text. He is governed by the desire to know the original feeling and thought of the men of the Bible. He has a resolute purpose to permit no need of his own soul, no necessity of the Church, *to force him one inch beyond the opinion* which the text itself has given him." ¹

Here we see plainly the gulf that yawns between the "Liberal" Churchman with his Higher Criticism and the loyal servant of the English Church. The higher critic, again let it be remembered, wants no light from the Church as God's great witness: he is entirely *individual*. How entirely the Church has been discarded, how thoroughly these new teachers are convinced, each of them, in spite of the variety of their "schools"

¹ Prof. Nash's *History of the Higher Criticism*, p. 185.

and the contradictory statements of their individual leading men, may be gathered from the quotation which we now give from the sympathetic historian of the Higher Criticism. It is this :

“ Criticism has its inspiration. The Credal period was inspired. Without it we should not have had our Bible, without it we should not have had that common Christian consciousness which is the foundation of the idealising forces of our time. Our own critical age is no less inspired. For, without the historical interpretation, the Bible would cease to be our book of witness to the creative and saving unity of the Divine life. We cannot go backward. The road into the middle ages is no thoroughfare of the Christian reason. At best, it is a by-path. In the stress and strain of the coming days, many no doubt will walk therein. None the less, it is a by-path. We know, unless History has wholly deceived us, that God’s highway runs through a deeper, a more truly critical study of His Word.”¹

Whatever else may be the meaning of this somewhat cloudy moonshine, there is one thing that comes out clearly, namely, that criticism, *i.e.* the varying statements of contradictory individuals, is to take the place (as a guide and standard) of

¹ Prof. Nash’s *History of the Higher Criticism*, p. 185.

the Catholic Church. We are further informed that, Germany having marked out the road of truth but being somewhat academic, England and America will probably be in future the powers to popularise the results of criticism, *i.e.* to shake the faith of their people in the Bible and the Church. Though certainly the " Liberal " Churchmen are doing their best in that direction, yet *absit omen !*

With some of the advance-guard of " Liberals " there would probably be greater hesitation in asserting in a manner so bald and bold the " inspiration of criticism." Their teaching amounts to the same thing, however. Very emphatic assertions indeed are made of the supreme excellence of the Bible, but these themselves are sufficiently perplexing : *e.g.*—

" We can face the modern world with the secure conviction that our Bible, after all is said, holds the spiritual primacy of the world's literature." " Former generations of Christians," it appears, were " enchained by arbitrary and mechanical theories of inspiration " and so " failed to recognise the true greatness of the treasure they had received." It has been left for " Liberal " critics to discover this ! And so the Catholic Church has been all wrong. The Anglican sixth article is one

of the "plainly obsolete" ones. The Church is not the "witness and keeper of Holy Writ."

The foolish Church, it appears, has "poured out its affections upon, and engirdled with the beauties of [its] consecrated fancy, books which were intrinsically undeserving of [its] homage." So St. Gregory went wrong; St. Bernard went wrong; the Church went wrong. Nevertheless, "the spiritual primacy of our sacred books . . . is now assured as never before." "Thoughtful Christians" (all "Liberal" critics, if not afflicted with any disease of modesty or failure in self-confidence, are, as we have seen, always "thoughtful"!) "thoughtful Christians are in general agreement that the time has come for a serious reconsideration" of the Bible and its uses. "Educated Christian opinion" has attained a truer way of testing the Bible.

In the future, we learn, "the place held by the Bible in the system of the Church will be different, yet it will not be less important." What is to be its importance? how is it to be discovered? asks the perplexed "seeker after truth." He need not be discouraged: the "Liberal" Churchman is equal to any emergency. It is true the Church is all wrong. It is a broad but "muddy stream" at which you cannot drink. You are

to "slake your soul's thirst at the fountain of living water, where it flows freshly and freely in the New Testament." The anxious soul is still anxious. He wants to know what *is* the New Testament? Well, it appears he will have a difficult task. The critics are also selectors. They are at sixes and sevens about this. According to many, it is full of myths. Which are true? Which false? Some are very doubtful of our Lord's actual position in the scale of being. St. John's Gospel is especially disliked by some of them, and the beginning of St. Matthew's and St. Luke's treated with kindly contempt by others. St. Paul does not come off well at their hands, and St. Peter is very questionable. But the inquirer may be comforted.¹ He must recognise that the Spirit "is not given to all men in equal measure." "If it were Christ Himself would be superfluous." It appears that Christ had a "unique religious consciousness." This did not save Him, by the way, from making many mistakes—as to Jonah, Nineveh, the authorship of the 110th Psalm, for instance—still this consciousness was unique. But then the Spirit is given in large

¹ See *Some Thoughts on Inspiration*, by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Also an able review in *The Church Times*, March 21, 1905.

measure (though not so large as in Christ's case) to those in whom authority is to be recognised, more rather than less. And who are they? Not of course Church councils or such antiquated assemblies, nor "Bishops, who may be ignorant," nor priests, who may be "fanatical." No! Guidance is to be sought from "the authority of the learned, the thoughtful, the instructed." Where the inquirer is to find them, or how distinguish them, we are not told. However, they *are* to be found among the critics who possess "the modern mind," for *they* are they who rise superior to Christ's ignorance and misstatements in spite of the *uniqueness* of His consciousness. The believer of the "Liberal" school is to make an act of faith—not of course in anything so feeble and mistaken as "the Holy Catholic Church," but in a selection of "the learned, the instructed, etc." In fact, as the old outworn Creeds must be re-stated, the true "Liberal" Churchman must say, instead of the antiquated clause "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," "I believe in a court of trained experts, self-appointed from time to time!"¹

There is another guide towards the discovery

¹ See "Review of the Doctrine of the Atonement," by H. Rashdall, in *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 3, June, 1905, p. 237.

of what *is* the Bible, which is to help the anxious inquirer. "The modern Christian student," we are informed, "ignores both inspiration and canonicity, and takes the Books of the Bible on their merits, *i.e.*, as we have seen, takes them or leaves them or makes extracts from them, as true—leaving the rest as mythical or as pious frauds,—according to his own sweet will, only guided by this ever changing "court of trained experts." Still he can fall back upon his spiritual "experience." Like Coleridge he is to judge of the Bible, its truth and value, if "there is more that *finds* him in it than in all other books." This proves that "the authority of the Bible," so discovered, "lies beyond the reach of all criticism." Upon which two things may be remarked: (1) it has *not* put the Bible out of the reach of "Liberal" criticism, and (2) that this is no *proof* at all. Men are often *found* in their consciences and the depth of their being by stimulating and awakening words in George Eliot's novels, in Shakespeare, in Dante, in a hundred other books. The devout Christian, who knows on the testimony of the Church that the Bible is "the Word of God," studies it in a very different atmosphere from that in which he studies any other, the best of, books, and it does *find* him. That is no proof, to those who do not

believe in the Church, of the position of the Bible. It is a *corroboration* to a devout soul of the truth of what the Church has taught him. Still less is it a *proof* of what *is* the Bible, what *is* the Word of God and what is not. The whole theory is a miserable confusion of thought—putting “experience” quite out of its proper position, and endeavouring to cover the arbitrary selections of each professing critic with a cloak of pious verbiage, and to assert—what turns out to be—the most naked individualism as a guide to what “God’s Word” *is* instead of the testimony of God’s Church.

There is some light thrown upon some of those who, at the present moment, are to be considered as the “court of trained research” in whom an English Churchman is to make his Act of Faith.

We gather that the great theologians of what is now called the past are to be disregarded. Dr. Cheyne is one of the great modern “lights.” He holds the Oriel Professorship of Interpretation in the University of Oxford, and is a Canon of an English Cathedral, and he throws the ægis of his authority over the *Biblia Critica*, the chief aim of which would almost appear to be to disprove the doctrine of the Divinity of our Lord; though the more frank utterances there would

seem really less disingenuous than the cautious statements of many of the "Liberals."

Another who would appear to deserve a place in the court of final appeal is Mr. Henson, Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's. He teaches plainly that "much in the primitive accounts of the Resurrection is demonstrably unhistorical."¹ He teaches that every Christian believes indeed in the Resurrection of Christ as a "vital truth," only his "Resurrection" turns out to be wholly different from that asserted by St. Paul and taught by the Church. Indeed, he says that "the affirmation [in the fourth article] is crude, materialistic, unsatisfactory."² Whether he would approve of the Virgin Birth of our Lord would seem doubtful.

Into the charmed circle of the learned who are to be trusted, Dr. Driver is of course to be admitted. The anxious inquirer who desires to know about his Bible will learn from him "that in the first eleven chapters of Genesis there is little or nothing that can be called historical; . . . the concurrent testimony of geology and astronomy,

¹ *The Value of the Bible*; Prefatory Letter to the Bishop of London, p. xiv.

² *Ibid.* p. xxvi., and see "The Resurrection of Jesus Christ," Rev. Canon Hensley Henson, B.D., *The Hibbert Journal*, vol. ii. No. 3, April, 1904.

anthropology, archæology, and comparative philology is proof that the account given in these chapters . . . is no historically true record of these events as they actually happened." He also instructs us that the Book of Genesis was compiled by somebody who combined certain stories handed on by three persons whom he calls J and E and P.

There is not the slightest evidence that such persons ever existed. But according to Dr. Driver they not only wrote down traditions, but they *idealised* them ; that is, they recorded as true what was really false ; and so Almighty God, who is the Truth, gave His revelation by inspiring pious frauds, and allowing the sacred writings of His Church to be in great part a mass of religious fiction. We are, however, to accept Dr. Driver—if we are loyal to " Liberal " Churchmanship—as a kind of apostle, at any rate as a leading member of the " court of trained research." ¹

There are various degrees of unbelief among the members of this supposed court. Dr. Sanday, we are told, is regarded universally as one of the soundest and most cautious of our leading

¹ See Driver on Genesis, *passim*; also Bennett's " Book of Genesis " in *The Century Bible*, Introduction.

critics. Mr. Henson agrees on the whole with the result of his discussion on the Resurrection, but he thinks "the discussion itself" "gravely disappointing." However, he consoles himself by remembering that Dr. Sanday would be sure to accept "the legitimacy of other conclusions than his own, being reached by other scholars no wise less honest or less competent than himself"!¹ Dr. Sanday is quoted as on the "right side" because he says "the Gospels are . . . not infallible, but yet, broadly speaking, good and true records" of the words and life of Christ. He also says "the narratives of the Temptation are upon the face of them symbolical"; also that certain "introductory notes" ". . . are often nothing more than vague conjectures of the Evangelists." Also that the apparitions of the dead (Matt. xxvii. 52) are very doubtful. Also that some miracles of our Lord were accommodations to the ideas of the time; that other miracles of our Lord, which sound especially strange to modern ears, rest upon the very best historical authority, but that the account of them would be very different indeed if that account were given by an observer of modern times.

This latter seems a cryptic way of saying that

¹ *The Value of the Bible*, Prefatory Letter, p. xiv., etc.

a modern observer would have been wide awake enough to know that for some cause or other these were no miracles at all. Whatever our Lord did, or however the thing was managed, it appears from the same authority that "the mission of Jesus was to the first century, and not to the nineteenth." As to this cryptic saying, Mr. Henson—whose prejudices cannot be said to be in favour of anything that is "traditional"—not altogether unjustly remarks as follows: "After long and repeated attention to this paragraph, I do not see how to use this 'warning' without being brought to the conclusion that the *miracles* in question 'did not happen,' whatever occurrences of a non-miraculous character may underlie the accounts of the Evangelists; but" (he adds himself, in an oddly cryptic sentence) "I am quite sure that is not what Dr. Sanday himself means." ¹

It is clear, then, that Dr. Sanday—conservative as his attitude is—has qualified for being one of the court of trained experts. The present Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Robertson) would appear also (if Mr. Hensley Henson's interpretation of his teaching is correct) to deserve a seat in the court, as he sweeps away a part of the historical character of

¹ See *The Value of the Bible*, Prefatory Letter, pp. xvii., xviii.

the narrative in Acts ii., and so, as Mr. Henson says,¹ flatly contradicts the "special preface" for Whitsunday. This fact may perhaps throw light upon two remarks in the Bishop of Exeter's late "charge": (1) "Doctrinal diversities there are, and always must be, in a Church where reasonable freedom is the law—diversities within the limits of the Catholic Faith"; and (2) "Inherently, granting that the Prayer Book comprises all that really deserves the name of Catholic, comprehension is a strength, for it gathers together on common ground men who see differently matters of secondary rank, but are able to see them in their right proportion." We are inclined to ask, Is it a matter of "secondary rank" whether or no the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the revealed Word of God, or whether they are a mass of myths and inaccuracies and pious frauds and mistakes, jumbled up with truth, and that—the authority of the Catholic Church having been set aside—ordinary Christians are to make acts of faith in a self-appointed body of historians and critics, and receive as true from time to time only what they decide to be true? ²

This, however, is the result of the teaching

¹ *The Value of the Bible*, Prefatory Letter, p. xix.

² *Ibid.*

of "Liberal" Churchmanship, and with a great flourish of trumpets about the value of the Bible they are destroying men's belief in it, whilst they hold the office of teachers in that part of the Church which appeals to it with special emphasis as an infallible authority.

Perhaps the difficulties arising out of the Higher Criticism as regards the Bible are best illustrated by the type of "Liberal" teaching of Dr. Armitage Robinson—the present Dean of Westminster.

He is a "Liberal" likely to speak or write in a tone of greater moderation than some others. For that very reason the statements or suggestions made by him are the more weighty and therefore cause graver anxiety to a Catholic Churchman as showing the trend and ideal of "Liberal" Churchmanship. The Dean of Westminster is a man to treat everything that he touches with great seriousness and to command respect, not only for his scholar-like mind but also for the evident sincerity of his religious tone. If he has not—as few, if any, of our modern teachers have—the robust vigour combined with the lofty spiritual insight of the great teachers of the English Church who are gone, he has at least a serious and earnest and religious mind.

He is no *enfant terrible*, bent upon saying smart things and wild things to startle and distress. He would not willingly or in an off-hand manner shake the faith of others. He has evidently a very real and curiously mystical piety of his own. His "Liberal" views about Holy Scripture carry with them a force which would not be felt as coming from others less serious or less in earnest.

To a Catholic consequently they are the more deplorable. Holy Scripture, to him, has "an element of human misconception and mistake."¹ The authors of the Sacred Books show "human infirmity and ignorance." Genesis, of course—as we have learnt already from Dr. Driver—is "folk-lore," if "purified folk-lore" (whatever this process of purification means). We find in it "picturesque drapery" for religious and moral lessons. After this we are not surprised to learn about irreconcilable discrepancies in the Evangelists; nor are we surprised to learn that our Lord's human knowledge did not "transcend the best knowledge of His time." In this connection (although we shall return to this again) as to the story of the fiery serpents, in the history of Israel,

¹ *Some Thoughts on Inspiration*, J. Armitage Robinson, Dean of Westminster.

and the brazen serpent which Moses set up, and the manna that fell from heaven, and the days of Noah and the Flood and the Ark, and the history of Jonah, and the preaching to Nineveh—we have to remember that these things were not true, and that our Lord was merely speaking in the language of His time, and according to the knowledge of His time, and that in His human nature He knew no better.

It has been truly remarked that we should like to know from the Dean of Westminster or from others of this new school of teachers “in concrete detail how much of the Bible” we must give up. There are, we are told, “deciduous elements.” What are they? Each of these teachers is bound to give us a list of them. Canon Cheyne seems to live in a world of his own and to have Jerahmeel on the brain.¹ He lives in the world

¹ Canon Cheyne is of course the crowning glory of the Higher Criticism in England. His book, *Bible Problems*, from its unbridled imaginativeness, its total want of logical consecutiveness, and its (unconscious) humorous seriousness, is a very *Alice in Wonderland* of the Higher Criticism. It need hardly be added that with perfect good temper and a sublime calmness it throws overboard most things believed in Creed or Scripture by the Church of England. It professes to answer two very terrible indictments brought by Mr. Malloch in *The Nineteenth Century* of October and December, 1904. The answers are even worse than the indictments.

of wild assumption and still wilder speculation. The Dean of Westminster is a more moderate "Liberal." He seems only to discard a few things that our Lord and the Apostles seemed to believe, such as Balaam's ass and Jonah's great fish. It is easy to make sport of such things in an unbelieving world. But a man who thinks that God *cannot* do these things does not worship the Christian's God. The Dean of Westminster is not such a man ; and he, whom perhaps we may look upon as a moderate and serious chairman of the "court of trained research," might perhaps exercise that "courage" which the "Liberals" are supposed to possess pre-eminently when they assail the Church, and that frankness in abandoning the traditional standpoint, by telling us—the weaker vessels who are still Catholics—how much of the Bible is true and how much is false, and how far we are to trust ourselves and our people and the English Church and the life of souls—no longer to our Lord, who made mistakes, and according to them told us things which were not true—and how far we are to trust His Church, which seems quite evidently wrong, about Holy Scripture, and up to what point we have to revise our beliefs in obedience to the "court of trained experts."

For—apart from the actual critical points—we have to remember that if we are to accept the teaching even of such more moderate critics as the Dean of Westminster—to say nothing of the others—then the Catholic Church has *gone wrong*, not one part of it, not “Rome,” nor the orthodox Easterns, nor the Anglican Communion, but each one of them and all of them “have erred,” and what was left by our Lord as “the pillar and ground of the truth” has turned out to be a shifting sand. Then practically for ourselves in our own Church, which is sometimes spoken of in such very “tall language” in Bishops’ charges and elsewhere, as possessing a lofty mission, a “firm hold of the Creeds,” and (oddly enough) “the observances, the devotional and intellectual heritage of the early Church,” which is supposed to have a “free but reverent possession of the whole heritage of Christian life and thought,”¹—this immaculate Church about which we do not talk in the language of humility and penitence recommended by the late Mr. Keble, but rather in the language of what may be called ecclesiastical “jingoism”—this faultless Church is all wrong too! Our “incomparable liturgy,” our Prayer Book, which we all love and

¹ *English Churchmanship*, a charge by Archibald Robertson, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Exeter.

which is drenched with Scriptural teaching, our daily offices, our Epistles, Gospels, Collects, and even the service for the Eucharist itself, our baptismal office, our marriage service, and of course the Psalms, which are the back-bone of our daily services—all must go. They are plunged in error. We read daily lessons which are not true. The question is not one merely of criticism: the question is, What is our court of final appeal? Is it the Catholic Church? Or is it the “court of trained research”—the extreme or the moderate but always the infallible—Critics? If it is the latter—and that seems the idea of “Liberalism”—then at least we know the worst, we know what the Church of England really *is*.

We cannot too clearly realise that this “Liberal” attack on the Holy Scripture demands our consideration as to what is the external witness and standard of Christian revelation; Is it the varying opinion of modern critics? or is it the testimony of the Catholic Church?

We have already noticed the confused notion of some “Liberals” that it is (as Coleridge suggested) only what *finds* me which is truly Canonical. This is not much of a test, because as has been observed already, so many different things in different literatures *find* different people. So we

really come to what Dr. Liddon called "the inspiration of selection." It has struck a writer of the "Liberal" school that it may be asked how assertions regarding "experience" and "consciousness" as tests of truth are to be sustained, seeing that there is "experience" and "consciousness" also in non-Christian religions. However, the answer is ready, if not satisfying. "The difference between the two, while not unimportant, is rather one of form than of substance." Individualism, we see, runs riot. The attack on the Bible reveals fully what "Liberals" think of the Christian Church! In this connection, the following passage from the pen of an able writer is worthy of attention :

"The formula," he writes, "of which we would especially desiderate an elucidation in detail is the plea so frequently advanced that it is not the truth of the historical record which matters, but only that of the underlying spiritual lessons—as though we could boil down the story and throw away the facts. . . . 'In religion,' an Archdeacon tells us, 'there is no past tense.' But this is really to strike at the root of Christianity as an historical religion. It empties the Creed and the Gospel story of their life. It gives away the case to those who argue that the Incarnation,

the Resurrection and Ascension, need not be true as events in space and time, the underlying spiritual idea being the only important thing. 'Modern idealism,' observes Bishop Westcott, 'which aims at securing the pure spiritual conception free from all associations of time and space, is a new Docetism.'

No doubt the historic record of the older Testament is on a lower level than that which enshrines the Christian mysteries. But if it speaks with abounding circumstantiality of an entrance of the Almighty at certain junctures into the circle of earthly events, it cannot be a matter of indifference to us whether the record be true, "idealised," or wholly imaginary. Is it of no religious consequence whether God made a covenant with the "saved" from the Flood; whether Abraham, the friend of God, who rejoiced to see Christ's day, ever existed or is merely the Moon-god myth, or whether the Levitical Law, instead of having been ordained at Sinai through angels, by the hands of a mediator, Moses being admonished by God to make all things according to the pattern shown him in the mount, is a post-exilic concoction elaborated for pious or interested purposes by an anonymous person or persons, taking a hint from Ezekiel's ideal vision,

out of customs traditional in a few sacerdotal families? Revelation, again, is pledged to certain anthropological assertions, as that God made of one (ἐξ ἑνὸς) all nations for to dwell on all the face of the earth. "This is either borne out or contradicted by research."¹ We may add that in the view of any Catholic believer, if it does not, in any case, *seem* to be "borne out," then the "research" is insufficient as the interpretation put upon its results is wrong. "Revelation," to him, is God's unveiling of His works in ways of which man could not know by his unaided reason.

"It is"—the same writer goes on—"surely to daub the temple wall with untempered mortar when the Bishop of Winchester assures us that, having the message of Divine love in the essentials of our faith, we need not be disturbed by literary questions of authorship, date, structure, analysis, and so forth in either Testament." We cannot, for instance, but be concerned when Harnack asserts that "it is one of the best established results of history that the clause 'Born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary' does not belong to the earliest Gospel preaching," or when Canon Cheyne

¹ A writer in *The Church Times*, "The New Bible and the Old," March 31, 1905.

brings what he considers facts to show that "we are here clearly within the circle of Pagan ideas."

It may be of comparatively slight consequence¹ whether, as the Bishop of Birmingham thinks, the Palm Sunday story of the ass and her colt has been "worked over" by the Evangelist, or parable has occasionally "hardened into miracle" (for example the barren fig tree).² Archdeacon, now Canon, Wilson considers the Temptation to be merely parable, not even vision."³ The writer justly adds: "A general sense of insecurity and suspended judgment paralyses faith. The ordinary Christian is not satisfied with being told that the portraiture of the Saviour in the Gospels is 'in its main outlines' probably correct."⁴ Certainly he is not. Why should he be? If Higher Criticism has destroyed so many of the details, why should it not, in its "scientific" processes, succeed in destroying "the main outlines"? We cannot adopt one premise and quite another conclusion. If the Church

¹ As a matter of fact, it is of very grave consequence. See p. 171 *inf.*

² Cf. Dr. Liddon's sermon on "The Barren Fig Tree."

³ This, surely, is purely arbitrary. Cf. Hutchings on "The Temptations," where criticism and faith are in right relationship.

⁴ A writer in *The Church Times*, "The New Bible and the Old," March 31, 1905.

is trustworthy as to Holy Scripture, then "the critics" are wrong. If they are the true authorities, then the Catholic Church—not any mere part of it—has erred. Each may draw his own conclusions and construct a "Christianity" for himself: we are out on the open sea.

The fact is, in the English Church at present, *theology* is well-nigh dead. We can scarcely find a theologian; we have "critics" unnumbered. Speculators starting from assumptions of their own concocting are taking the place of theologians who started from the revelation entrusted to the Church, as data. *Speculation* has supplanted *theology*.

The question is not whether men may have freedom of opinion. They may, and they are to respect the freedom of opinion in others. From this comes fair discussion. But the question is whether members of the Church of England, and especially her appointed teachers, may hold and teach opinions directly at variance with the doctrines which the Church holds, to protect and teach which is one chief reason of her existence, and to the holding and teaching of which her teachers have bound themselves. Have her appointed officers a right to hold and teach these varying opinions about the Canonical Scriptures

resting on their own "verifying faculty" instead of upon the Church's teaching? If they have, the modern attacks on Holy Scripture are justified, and the Church is not "the pillar and ground of the truth," but "a debating society" which may teach anything or nothing. If they have not, the modern attacks upon Scripture by the Church's ordained teachers are wrong. They do not start from the permissible data—the Church's fundamental doctrines on the subject—but from personal and unauthorised assumptions, and tend to unsettle and destroy the faith of Christians and Churchmen in Holy Scripture as a Divine revelation.

It was inevitable that, if this sort of criticism came to be in any sense popular in England, or to have any hold upon the minds of those within the English Church, the question of our Lord's exact position as a teacher would have to be confronted. The freest criticism, of course, on all religious subjects, has prevailed in Germany; and as we have seen,¹ critic after critic had arisen, each one, for the most part, upsetting one or all of the conclusions of his predecessors. In England a great impetus was given to this in Oxford. The Church of England was startled about the year 1889 by a volume of essays which aroused attention both

¹ See pp. 125, 126.

from the names of their authors, who were men of academic distinction and great piety of life, and from the more free handling of Divine things than had been the case among the great leaders in the Oxford Movement. It had been imagined, by the Catholic party, that many of these men would have been the real successors of Pusey, Newman, Mozley, and the other great leaders, as well as of Church and Liddon.

They soon had reason to discover their mistake. These writers were moved by the highest motives, but adopted methods which have been fruitful in disaster to the Church of England. Excellent as each one of them was himself, they struck out much more in the direction of the "Liberal" line than of the "Catholic." The shock given by their volume was almost as great as the consternation occasioned long before by the famous *Essays and Reviews*. Like the *Essays and Reviews*, *Lux Mundi* (for that was the name of the volume) moved on very "Liberal" lines ; but it did not profess, like the former volume, to come from through and through "Liberals." It was supposed to be written by men who, starting from Catholic principles, landed in a great many "Liberal" conclusions. The essays, as such compositions are sure to be, were very uneven, either

in literary merit or theological strength, or outspokenness of view. Some were cautious, some hazy, and some obscurely mystical. The object of the volume was, according to the statements in the preface to the tenth edition, to "succour a distressed faith, by endeavouring to bring the Christian Creed into its right relation to the modern growth of knowledge, scientific, historical, critical ; and to the modern problems of politics and ethics."

It is further explained that these modern problems were not of course of the first importance, but that *the Faith* was of the first importance, nevertheless that it was necessary to bring the Faith into relation to the claims intellectual and practical made from outside. The writers professed to be writing for Christians who were perplexed by "new knowledge." They professed accordingly not to make compromises, that is, not to tamper with principle, but to help to a readjustment of the things of faith and the things of knowledge. They acknowledged that this would require "concessions," but the "concessions" they believed would only be in details, so that the "scientific and critical movement" should be "free from the peril of irreligion, and the religious movement free from the imputation of hostility to new knowledge."

The motives and the object were excellent. The writers, however, had embarked on a perilous, if not impossible, task. "Throwing sops to Cerberus" is a dangerous game in matters of revealed religion. Cerberus is a very hungry monster, and goes on requiring more sops than can well be given. All the writers have been good, useful, and eminent men. Some of them at any rate believe that they achieved their object. They were all "academic"; and in the Universities "distress of mind" and "pain" and "anxiety" about the "conflict of religion and science" does not really go very deep, and not infrequently assumes somewhat of a melodramatic and sensational importance. The saying of Sir Oliver Lodge that "Englishmen on the whole are not worrying themselves about their sins" (whatever that eminent person actually meant by it) is unfortunately very true, and the numbers of young men at the Universities who are in "anguish" and "pain" about "difficulties" in the Bible or the Creeds is not, it is to be feared, very large. Many thoughtful young men have, and have had, grave doubts and difficulties, through which they have worked into light by God's guidance, by prayer, by the example of good men, and by sympathetic and kindly advice; but it may be doubted whether

a volume of this kind was apt to be widely useful for strengthening the hold of revealed religion on souls, and whether it was not much *more* likely to reinforce the wildest attacks of " Liberalism " and unbelief.¹

The astonishment and anxiety aroused in Catholic quarters by the appearance of the volume were intensified by the bold position taken up in the essay on " Inspiration " by the author, who was Head of the Pusey House. That house had been founded by a large body of Catholic Churchmen to keep alive the memory of the great Doctor and carry on his teaching. It was of course startling, almost at the very beginning of the Institution, to find teaching coming from the Oxford House which would, so to speak, have " made Dr. Pusey turn in his grave." The eleven concluding pages of the essay on " Inspiration " came to Dr. Liddon, as he himself tells us, as " a thunder-bolt out of a clear sky." ²

The fact is, the hoped-for successors to the " Men of the Movement " were no true successors at all. A new departure had come. The " Liberals," who

¹ The first essay is indeed of unexceptionable excellence. The late Dean Church, while shaking his head doubtfully over the book, said to the present writer, " Certainly these men do not wish to be heretics."

² *Life and Letters of H. P. Liddon*, p. 367.

had driven Newman from the English Church, and secularised the University, and attained to position of power and importance in Church and State, had infected the Catholic party, and "the Neo-Anglicans," as they have been called, were beginning, in considerable measure, to take their line. The great days were over. A distinct fall in the Church had come in Oxford.¹ Reckless speculation was now to take the place of sound theology. Catholics had good reason to be distressed: the "Liberals" welcomed "the Concessionists" as of themselves.

The writer of the essay on "Inspiration" was looked upon as one of the Catholic school; he was, and is in fact, one may venture to say, an eclectic. If he taught that it was "becoming more and more difficult to believe in the Bible without believing in the Church"²—as all Catholics believe; if he reminded men that they learnt Christianity at first *not* from the New Testament, but from the Church and her traditions for many a year—as also all Catholics believe,—he also taught that all that was necessary

¹ "We have again begun to slide down the hill, towards the pit of uncertainty or unbelief."—*Life and Letters of H. P. Liddon*, p. 364.

² *Lux Mundi*, p. 338.

for faith in Christ was the moral dispositions which predispose to belief and make intelligible and credible the thing to be believed, coupled with such acceptance of the generally historic character of the Gospels and other Apostolic writings as justifies belief in the Virgin Birth, the manifestation of Christ as Son of God, the Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, and that He founded the Church and gave to it the Holy Spirit.¹ He taught that the Holy Scriptures are inspired, but the inspiration reveals merely "certain fundamental religious principles"; it is the looking at things from *our point of view*—viz. "everything is presented as revealing God's dealings with man." Inspiration had degrees. The inspiration of the Apostles meant that they truly recognised Christ's teaching and Himself. This is "verified" by our feeling that, amidst points of agreement and difference, we find substantially the same conception of Christ in all. All this is accepted by all. But then, it appears, inspiration does not guarantee the exact historical truth of the records. There is nothing certainly (so it appears) to prevent us believing that the record in the Old Testament from Abraham downwards is historically true; but *with due regard to historical*

¹ *Lux Mundi*, pp. 340, 341.

criticism, the Church cannot insist on it being true, much less the earlier portion. The inspired men seem to have been guided to keep in view God's dealings with man whether what they wrote was true or false—"the inspiration," as Dr. Liddon said, "of selection," "the inspiration of inveracity."

It appeared, then, that in the Bible there was room for that which, though marked by spiritual purpose, was not historically true; for instance, "if criticism shows" Daniel and Jonah to be "probably dramatic," that would not hinder them from performing an "important canonical function." Like the Greek, so Jewish history passes back into myth. Of course Galileo and the Roman Curia are dragged up, and so we must leave criticism free to make anything it likes of the Bible, lest the Church should make a mistake, only always believe in inspiration as showing the relation of God to man, and God's workings. On these principles a good deal might be said in favour of Greek and Latin and indeed any literature being inspired.¹

Then came the question of our Lord's authority. However, the writer had "the courage of his

¹ See, generally, the latter part of *Lux Mundi*; also the Preface to the tenth edition.

opinions." Christ, it appears by His reference to Jonah, Noah, Nineveh, etc., does not necessarily prove that these were true persons or events, nor by assuming that David wrote the 110th Psalm does He prove that the critics are wrong in saying that he did not.

What was hinted at in the essay in *Lux Mundi* came out in full statement in *The Bampton Lectures*. These are always pious, often ingenious, often, also, able, but they are consistent in pushing on the new theories to their conclusions.

It was necessary to show *why* the Eternal Truth so spoke as to mislead us. No one can deny that our Lord *appears* to teach the *reality* of the stories of Noah, Daniel, Job, Jonah, Lot's wife. To meet this difficulty "the Kenotic theory," as it has been called, was adopted. The theory is chiefly based on a misinterpretation of St. Paul's words in Phil. ii. 7. Underneath the Kenotic idea is the notion that our Lord, in the Incarnation, *abandoned* something which He had before; that is, ignorance of the historical untruth of the narratives which He appeared to sanction arose from this. "He abandoned certain prerogatives of the Divine mode of existence in order to assume the human." Again, "The act on the part of the Son which is thus [2 Cor. viii. 9, as

“self-beggary ”] represented as an *abandoning* of what He possessed, etc.” “ In regard to the Divine attributes, what He retained in exercise and what He *abandoned*,” we cannot know *a priori*, but “ the record seems to assure us that omniscience was one ; at least He was not habitually living in the exercise of omniscience.” Again, in Him was “ a real *abandonment* of the prerogatives which belong to a superior state of consciousness.” ¹ St. Paul’s teaching does not justify this view, and Dr. Gore’s attempt to justify such a view from the Fathers completely breaks down. Our duty is illustrated by St. Paul from our Lord’s action—there must therefore be a parallel between them. A man does not relinquish *his nature*, he does not *give up* his actual powers of manhood, in order to help others. He does not limit his power of helping, but devotes his whole power to help others. *That* our Lord did to help us. To *abandon* any attribute would have been to cease to be God. St. Paul could not have meant that he literally abandoned the former essence of God. The crucial passage of St. Paul has thus been paraphrased : “ St. Paul exhorts the Philippians to do nothing through faction and vainglory, but in lowliness of mind to prefer others to

¹ See Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, lecture vi. p. 158.

themselves, not regarding exclusively their own things, but considering also the things of others."

To illustrate and confirm this exhortation, he bids them to have "this mind" in them "which was also in Christ Jesus." Subsisting all along in the essence of God, He did not think that His state of equality with God was a thing which needed to be grasped anxiously, but on the contrary disparaged Himself (which He would not have done had He regarded His position to be imperilled thereby)—that is, "He took the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men." Dr. Gore does not always state "the Kenotic theory" in the extreme form in which some do, but there can be little doubt that his teaching gave an impetus to it in the English Church. That theory imperils a true belief in the Divinity of Christ. If our Lord *really* abandoned something which He had before the Incarnation, He ceases to be God, and Socinianism is true. It also perverts the idea of His manhood. "To present the manhood of Christ effectually, we must present it as the manhood of a Divine Person." It tends to revive the ancient heresy of Monophysitism; it brings it to there being "but one nature in our Lord during His earthly life." The Catholic Faith teaches that there was one

Divine Person, and in that One Person two natures, two wills, two operations. "If our Lord's omnipotence was *abandoned* there could not have been two wills in Him, and if His omniscience was *abandoned* there could not have been two knowledges in Him." ¹

The Kenotic theory has been put forward to cover the false assertions of the Higher Criticism. According to it, our Lord in speaking of Daniel or Jonah or Lot, and so on, only spoke according to the knowledge of His time: He was ignorant of the facts known to "criticism." The revealed truth is, "The sphere of His Divine knowledge . . . transcended infinitely the sphere of His human knowledge; but within the sphere or range of human knowledge, *both* His knowledges were exercised upon the same objects. Their distinctness lies in the diversity of the modes of their exercise, a diversity arising from the difference of the natures." The possibility of knowing the same thing in two ways is clear. "The truth revealed" is that our Lord had "simultaneous possession of Divine and human knowledge, without mutual infringement or confusion." ² Thus—"Jesus saw Nathanael coming to Him." This was "an act of human

¹ Rev. F. J. Hall, *The Kenotic Theory*, chap. ii. pp. 69, 70.

² *Ibid.*, p. 214.

observation," but "Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree, I saw thee." Here " was an exercise of superhuman knowledge." "Both were exercised upon the same object of knowledge."

For a Catholic there are two points of importance. (1) The "theory of the Kenosis" is in fact condemned by anticipation by the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon. That Council sanctioned and made its own the Tome of St. Leo. Dr. Gore thinks that "the dogmatic authority of a letter approved by a Council as a whole is not identical with the dogmatic authority of the actual formula decreed by the Council."¹ This is a mistake ; the letter was not accepted simply *as a whole*, "but after close examination of the very passages which contain the juxtapositions to which Dr. Gore objects. Moreover, the Council incorporated its approval of the Tome in the same document which contains its own definition of the Faith, plainly intending that it should be taken as an accurate exposition of what the Council was defining."² What has therefore Conciliar authority is "He assumed the

¹ *Dissertations*, p. 163 note.

² Cf. Bright, *St. Leo on the Incarnation*, Epistle Twenty-eight on the "Tome," p. 109, etc., and 173 note ; and Hall, *The Kenotic Theory*, p. 10 note.

form of a servant," without defilement of sins, enriching what was human, not impairing what was Divine ; because that "emptying of Himself," whereby the Invisible made Himself visible, and the Creator and Lord of all things willed to be one among mortals, was a stooping down of compassion, not a failure of power. Accordingly the same who, remaining in the form of God, made man, was made man in the form of a servant.¹

(2) A Catholic feels that our Lord may have limited the exercise of His Divine knowledge by His human mind, as appears to be the case in the question of the Day of Judgment, but the Teacher of truth can never have taught us what was not true. Limitation of knowledge is one thing, direct mis-statement is another ; accordingly Bishop Stubbs says, "I feel that I am bound to accept the language of our Lord in reference to the Old Testament Scriptures as beyond appeal. . . . I am not affected by doubts thrown on the authority of the Pentateuch or the 110th Psalm."²

The real method of the new school in Oxford was rationalistic, and the results eclectic. The "Liberals" are often eclectics for that reason.

¹ Bright, *St. Leo on the Incarnation*, pp. 113, 114.

² See Bishop Stubbs's Charge, 1893.

Some go farther than others. We may well believe that Dr. Gore would shrink from accepting all their propositions, but certainly where "Kenoticism" comes in to discredit our Lord's utterances as to the Old Testament Scriptures it is on a rationalistic basis. "He who rejects any one revealed truth" (as Dr. Pusey says) "does not hold whatever other truth he does not part with, out of submission to the authority of God who has revealed it, but because it approves itself in some way to his own natural mind and judgment. What he holds, he holds of himself."

Englishmen are slow to see the consequences of their premises, especially in matters of doctrine. Principles were being adopted at Oxford, by those who were expected to carry on the Catholic tradition, which must, some could see plainly enough, advance only the "Liberal" cause.

Dr. Liddon saw it. He saw that reckless and unlimited "criticism" was being made to assume the authority of the Catholic Church. "X," he wrote (alluding to a friend, a "good Hebrew scholar"), "has placed himself with almost child-like trust in the hands of Wellhausen. Well, I have no right to place my judgment against X's. But I have read Wellhausen and have a robust confidence that he will go the way of

other Rationalists before him.”¹ We can see now how true that has proved.

Then he adds : “ Is it not remarkable that our Divine Lord, as if in anticipation of the sceptical spirit of our day, sanctioned those portions of the Old Testament which are most strongly objected to by modern Rationalists? The Flood, Lot’s wife, Jonah in the whale, are all used by Him in His recorded teaching. Was He referring to fables which He knew, or—worse still—did not know to be such? Especially noteworthy is the prominence given in His teaching to the Book of Daniel—the *bête noire* of the rationalising writers.”²

Again he says, “ Is there not a temptation in an age like ours to ‘ purchase the goodwill of the barbarians by repeated subsidies ’ drawn from those treasures of revelation which we have no right to surrender ? ”³

He saw the gulf yawning between him and the “ Concessionists.” The “ Liberals ” saw it too and rejoiced. In spite of their anger against Dr. Gore (when Bishop of Worcester) for remonstrating with a clergyman of the diocese for denying the Virgin Birth—which doctrine is

¹ *Life and Letters of Liddon*, chap. xiii. p. 360.

² *Ibid.* p. 361.

³ *Ibid.* p. 363.

one of those which the Bishop had convinced himself was true—in spite of their indignation because, for some reason or other, that clergyman resigned his cure of souls,—they claim Dr. Gore, because of his support of the Higher Criticism and of the theory of the Kenosis,¹ and not unnaturally, as their ally. They describe him, oddly enough (*absit omen!*), as “the distinguished leader of the High Churchmen,” and then go on to say that “Liberal Churchmen should never forget how much they owe to him.” They credit him with, “by his immense influence,” more than any one else “compelling the younger members of the High Church party to face patiently and

¹ The whole question of “The Kenosis”—of our Lord’s (supposed) ignorance as to Old Testament facts and persons—which has so devastated religion in England, and advanced Rationalism and “Liberalism” in the English Church, has received an immense impetus from Dr. Gore’s writings—from his considerable reading, from his high character, and his influence among many of the younger men in Oxford. On the whole subject see *Lux Mundi*, *Bampton Lectures*, and *Dissertations*, by Dr. Gore; also, *per contra*, Charges by Dr. Stubbs (then Bishop of Oxford), 1893. His teaching is weighty, not merely from being a Bishop, but because of his immense learning and deeply religious character. In a letter to the Bishop of London, prefixed to *The Value of the Bible*, etc., Canon Hensley Henson speaks with a sort of pitying admiration of Dr. Stubbs’s credulity. Most Catholics, however, will prefer Dr. Stubbs’s view! See also (a clear, scholarly, and valuable treatise) *The Kenotic Theory*, by Rev. Francis J. Hall, D.D.

seriously the intellectual facts of the day." Then, from the same influence "a whole school of modern Sacerdotalists," it appears, are discussing Old Testament questions with "remarkable freedom and reality," and—in spite of his approval of the doctrine of the Virgin Birth and all that appeared to happen in consequence—he is risen to heights of glory among the "Liberals" by his "remarkable power both of determination and of advance in dealing with the Athanasian Creed."¹

Well, both from thorough-going Liberals and Liberal Eclectics we know what treatment the Bible is to receive. Shadowy and baseless theories of "authority" may be propounded; but the external witness and foundation of faith in the Holy Scriptures and even in the truth of our Lord's perfect nature is to be not the decisions of the Holy Catholic Church, but the verdict of criticism!

¹ *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 3, June, 1905, pp. 187, 188.

VIII

THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT

(Continued)

THE CREEDS

I

THE "Liberals" have then avowedly attempted to alter the *status* of the Bible as accepted by the Church of England. The "Eclectics" of the *Lux Mundi* school, though in some points not going so far as they, have reinforced them, and indeed rendered their views practically efficient, and clothed them with a respectable vesture which enables them boldly to walk abroad throughout the ever-widening enclosure of the Anglican Church. *Lux Mundi*, as we have seen, was a fresh departure. Its statements were comparatively moderate, but it had about it a prophetic tone. It was not so much that the book had any special power about it, as that it came from the quarter it did. Those who had been supposed

to be the successors of the great men of the movements, and the allies of the Catholic revival, had apparently "gone over to the Liberals." These latter seemed to have succeeded beyond all their hopes, first in breaking up the Oxford Movement, then in almost annexing the places of authority in the Church, and now of so affecting the more prominent of modern Oxford Catholics that *these* had really become "Eclectic," "Neo-Anglicans,"—in fact, "Liberals" in disguise. The Catholic party had still their power in the Church, through their faith in the supernatural, their genuine and real belief in the Bible, the Creeds, and the Catholic Church, their devoted work and especially their labours among the poor. But still they could be left to the tender mercies of fanatical Protestantism or religious "Jingos"; to the power of the courts, or the chilling effects of Episcopal misrepresentation or disparagement; some might be driven to despair, and made to retire to Rome; others could be represented to be "Ritualists" or "Obscurantists" or "Reactionaries," or opposers of "the modern mind," or of "scientific advance," or of "critical methods," or of "the spirit of the English Church"—and so on, and thus their work might be hindered and discredited, and "Liberalism" in all the glory of its free and rationalistic

thoughts and methods might carry captive the English Church.

The publication of *Lux Mundi* was a red-letter day for the "Liberals." It was instinctively felt that it involved the acceptance of the "Liberal" ideal—the change in the centre of gravity of the Church of England; the substitution of private judgment and "free criticism" for Catholic authority, as a standard of Church teaching.

Dr. Liddon saw this at once, though others were slow to see it, being blinded by their attachment to, and admiration for, the author of the essay on "Inspiration." On January 14, 1890, writing of that essay Dr. Liddon says: "It involves—apart from its particular statements—nothing less than an abandonment of the ground won by the Oxford Movement in favour of Church authority as against private or merely literary criticism; indeed, this characteristic is by no means confined to Gore's essay."¹ Again he writes, on February 19 of the same year—speaking of the author of the essay—"I knew and loved his general character, I knew that he was sound about the Incarnation and the Sacraments, and I did not suspect that he had constructed a private kennel for liberalising ideas in

¹ *Life and Letters of Liddon*, p. 371.

theology within the precincts of the Old Testament, and so much of the New Testament as bears upon it." And again—which is more important, and which touches the point of the triumph of " Liberalism " in the publication of these essays—" The whole volume, as I read it, has a naturalistic and Palagianising tone. The writers seem to think it a gain when they can prune away or economise the supernatural, or the great and awful doctrines of grace, which are the heart of Christianity." ¹ That is the real *crux* in " Liberalism," to a Catholic-minded Churchman.

There are amongst the " Liberals "—both the more moderate-minded Eclectics and the more advanced men—of course many excellent men, and men of high character, and, if not great learning, at any rate considerable reading and good scholarship; but their whole teaching tends, sometimes consciously and even blatantly, sometimes perhaps unconsciously, (1) to make the shifting positions of individual criticism, instead of the rulings of the Catholic Church, the external court of appeal in matters of revealed truth; and (2) they encourage that tendency to Palagianism or semi-Palagianism (*i.e.* self-reliance, instead of reliance on the grace of God) which is so common in the

¹ *Life and Letters of Liddon*, pp. 371, 372.

English race ; and (3) they lower the idea of the supernatural, they “prune away or economise the supernatural”—as Dr. Liddon would say—and so tend to make the English Church even more naturalistic, more sympathetic with unbelief, less encouraging to a strong belief in the Unseen, than it has been already since the Reformation—which is saying a great deal.

How the worst theories of “Liberalism” have developed, even among the more moderate, may be best illustrated by comparing Dr. Gore’s essay in *Lux Mundi* with his *Bampton Lectures* and *Dissertations*. In the former the theory of the Kenosis—which, as we have seen, is so full of danger to the true doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord, and which removes a strong support to the truth of Holy Scripture—was only slightly touched upon ; in the latter it is full blown. Or again, in the *Dissertations* the “concessions” become larger and the “pruning away or economising the supernatural” more constant and evident. We find this, for instance, in the mode of defence of the story of the “visit of the Magi” ; in the “concession” that “it is quite possible that the introduction of the ‘ass’ beside the ‘colt’ in Matt. xxi. 2, the specification of the thirty pieces of silver in

Matt. xxvi. 15, the mingling of 'gall' with wine in Matt. xxvii. 34—details where St. Matthew is unsupported by the other evangelists—may be modifications due to the influence of the language of Zechariah and the Psalmist respectively.”¹

Or to take one other example, the whole treatment of angelic appearances is a distinct advance in “Liberalism.” In the case of the warning by the angel to Zacharias as to the birth of St. John Baptist, here we have remarkable “concession,” apparently because “angelic appearances such as occur thrice in these chapters—to Zacharias, to Mary, and to the shepherds—are a scandal to some minds, and tend to discredit the whole narrative by giving it an air of ideality, that is, unreality.”²

The “concession” is this, “No one,” we are told, “who knows human nature can doubt that such inward communications [as it is acknowledged God can give] could be easily transformed by the imagination into outward forms. It is then quite conceivable that Zacharias, on the solemn, the unique, occasion of his approaching God to offer the incense in the Holy Place, did in answer to his earnest prayer receive inwardly a

¹ *Dissertations*, pp. 32, 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Divine intimation of mysterious sort, as to what was to befall him, such as made a vivid impression upon his mind, and even took effect upon his organs of speech—as mental shocks do produce physical effects—and that this Divine intimation represented itself to his imagination in the outward form and voice of an angel. It is possible to give a similar interpretation to Mary's vision, and to that of the shepherds, though [so we are told, with great frankness] in this case the account would have to be more freely dealt with.”¹

It is instructive to compare this with Strauss's criticism on Paulus as to the same narrative.²

¹ *Dissertations*, p. 22.

² Strauss says as to the appearance of the angel to Zacharias, “the rationalistic method” was “to retain the two leading facts—the apparition and the dumbness—but to account for them in a natural manner. This was possible, with respect to the apparition, by supposing that a man, mistaken by Zacharias for a Divine messenger, really appeared to him. . . . This being too improbable, it became necessary to go a step further, and to transform the event from an external to an internal one. . . . Bahart's opinion was that perhaps a flash of lightning was mistaken by Zacharias for an angel; this forms a transition [view] since he attributes the greater part of the scene to Zacharias' imagination. But that any man in an ordinary state of mind could have created so long and consecutive a dialogue out of a flash of lightning is incredible . . . or, abandoning the notion of the lightning, a dream [may have occurred], which, however, could scarcely occur whilst burning incense in the Temple. Hence it has been found necessary with Paulus to call to mind that

Here, however, it is worth noting how deeply German rationalism has been affecting the teaching of Churchmen in England in its different phases. Strauss himself declared that he did not mean "the whole history of Jesus to be represented as mythical, but only that every part

there are wakened visions or ecstasies in which the imagination confounds internal images with external occurrences. . . . The exciting causes [according to Paulus] were, firstly, the long-cherished desire to have a posterity; secondly, the exalted vocation of administering in the Holy of Holies, offering up with the incense the prayers of the people to the throne of Jehovah, which seemed to Zacharias to foretoken the acceptance of his own prayer; and thirdly, perhaps an exhortation from his wife as he left his house similar to that of Rachel to Jacob, Genesis xxx. In this highly excited state of mind, as he prays in the dimly lighted sanctuary, he thinks of his most ardent wish, and, expecting that now or never his prayer shall be heard, he is prepared to discern a sign of its acceptance in the slightest occurrence. As the glimmer of the lamps falls upon the ascending cloud of incense, and shapes it into varying forms, the priest imagines he sees the figure of an angel. The apparition at first alarms him; but he soon regards it as an assurance from God that his prayer is heard. No sooner does a transient doubt cross his mind than the sensitively pious priest looks upon himself as sinful, believes himself reproved by the angel, and—here two explanations are possible—either an apoplectic seizure actually deprives him of speech, which he receives as the just punishment of his incredulity, till the excessive joy he experiences at the circumcision of his son restores the powers of utterance, so that the dumbness is retained as an external, physical, though not miraculous, occurrence; or the proceeding is psychologically understood, namely, that Zacharias, in accordance with the Jewish superstition, for a time denied himself the use of an offending member. Reanimated,

of it is to be subjected to a critical examination, to ascertain whether it had not some admixture of the mythical." "The Ancient Church," he observed, "believed that the Gospels contained a history, and a supernatural one." The earlier rationalism,

in other respects, by the extraordinary event, the priest returns home to his wife, and she becomes a second Sarah."

All this extraordinary tissue of baseless imagination Strauss himself easily pulverises or shatters by a little common sense before he himself starts on his equally baseless scheme for "re-stating" or "readjusting" the Christian history. He is struck with the absurdity of such explanation as Paulus gives—arising merely from a desire to remove any touch of the miraculous; he argues that (1) if such ecstasy occurs, there must be some predisposition in the individual, and there is no trace of it in the case of Zacharias, and it is improbable in his advanced age; (2) Some peculiar circumstances must have produced it, and of these there is no trace. "A hope long indulged" does not produce "ecstatic vehemence." The act of burning incense, to a man who had grown old in the service of the Temple, could not produce such wild excitement. (3) How, if Zacharias had apoplexy, did he return home apparently healthy and vigorous? (4) Why was his tongue loosed *from joy* at the circumcision of his son? Much more likely to have been loosed—if from joy—at his birth. Strauss remarks finally that in all this "Paulus has substituted a miracle of Chance for a miracle of God."

In Strauss's view "both explanations are equally precarious and unscientific."

The many schools of German speculators may be left to refute each other. They have some excuse for their romancing, for they were brought up in systems which had broken away from the Catholic Church.

Our "Concessionists" and "Liberals" have less excuse, and they turn out to be clumsy imitators.

so he acknowledges, also believed the Gospels to be historical, but denied that there was anything supernatural in them ; all could be shown to be natural. Then, in his opinion, in came science, and it examined to what extent they are historical at all. He, like many modern critics, believed, as he naïvely tells us, that he was specially fitted for a scientific and critical inquiry, because he had “early attained, by means of philosophical studies,” the internal liberation of his feelings and intellect from certain religious and dogmatical presuppositions !

All such presuppositions he considered unscientific, and so determined to write his *Life* of Jesus with all the “seriousness of science,” and dismissed—and hoped that all who judged him would dismiss and keep aloof from—bigotry and fanaticism. The latest developments of “scientific criticism” have indeed renounced Tübingen, so it is professed ; but, when Strauss held that, though doubts might be cast on the reality as historical facts of the supernatural birth of Christ, His miracles, His Resurrection and Ascension, and that yet there remained somehow or other “eternal truths,” we cannot fail to see how “the whirligig of time works its revenges,” and what a strong family likeness there is between

all the various "Liberal" methods of dealing with Divine truth which discard the witness of the Catholic Church.

We have seen, then, that according to the "Liberal" ideal the Bible is somehow or other to be of the highest value, but its narratives are to be handled with the utmost freedom by individual critics, in a "scientific spirit." This obviously alters the whole position of the Bible. It may be a useful book and a good book, and teach "righteousness," as a great many excellent literary productions may do ; but how it is to be an infallible book of reference, so that the "Church may teach and the Bible prove," it is difficult to see—and even for devotional purposes, according to the "Liberal" view, we should each of us require an "expert" at our elbows to prevent us from mistaking such things in the Bible as are not true for such things as are.

It is obvious that the "Liberal" mode of treating Holy Scripture must necessarily extend to the Creeds. Indeed nothing seems to raise the wrath of an advanced "Liberal" so much as to assert that there is anything fundamental about the Creeds. The "Liberals"—speaking broadly—are indeed the vigorous enemies of the Catholic Creeds as they have been hitherto

understood in the Church generally and in the Church of England in particular. Of course the degree of enmity, and the degree of frank and energetic hostility, as regards the Creeds varies a good deal in individual cases. Some who have started at the top of the slope of "Liberalism" are moving cautiously downwards. Some go with a run, just as is the case with regard to the attacks upon Holy Scripture; but all are accustoming the minds of men to a disparagement of, or disbelief in, the Creeds.

As to the Apostles' Creed, simple as it is, and proposed—as we have seen it has been—as a handy though inaccurate expression of "discipleship" by the "Liberals" themselves, yet they have not left even it without attack. Sometimes it has been asserted that it may be dealt with freely because it is not the outcome of a formal general council. This mode of attack, however, is not generally pushed. Reasonable men are able to see at a glance its absurdity. It is parallel to the much more often repeated fallacy with regard to the inspiration of Holy Scripture, that it need not be believed because there is no formulated definition of it in the records of the councils, to which it has been truly answered that "the *sensus communis* of Christians throughout the

ages is clear enough to enable us to judge of a new theory of inspiration.”¹

In the same way the Apostles' Creed comes to us with even more force, if possible, than the authority of a general council, because it is guaranteed by the tradition of the Catholic Church from the earliest ages, and allusions to it are quite probably found in the Apostolic writings of the New Testament, so that it is not improbable that, at least in part, it is a form of revelation older than some of these writings.² Still the Apostles' Creed naturally does not satisfy the “Liberals” who have discarded the authority of the Catholic Church. Many of them have doubts, and some plainly expressed disbeliefs, in the Virgin Birth of our Blessed Lord. All sorts of disingenuous efforts have been made to show that men may assert their belief in that Creed while denying the Virgin Birth. Childish attacks have been made on the articles stating the Descent into hell and the Ascension into heaven, based on what professed to be “scientific” grounds, which, if applied to ordinary things, would make nonsense of the

¹ Greenwood, *The Book of Genesis treated as an Authentic Record*, Preface ii. p. 10.

² See Prof. J. J. Blunt, *History of the Christian Church during the First Three Centuries*, chap. ii. pp. 20, 21, 22, 23.

language of every-day life. The belief in the Catholic Church has been attacked in the same sort of childish fashion by anxious appeals to etymology in order to make "Catholic" appear to mean something totally different from its real and accepted sense. Enough has been done, by "Liberal" efforts, to help on unbelief, and to shake the faith of many by suggestions, hints, and teachings that the Creed may be used as a "venerable symbol," without the man who uses it really believing it, except in "broad outline"—whatever that may mean.

The Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed supplies certain objections to the "Liberals." There is the same direct assertion of the Virgin Birth. There is the assertion of the Resurrection "according to the Scriptures"; and the Resurrection, as well as the Scriptures themselves, has been subjected to disintegrating criticism. There is the assertion of the speaking of the Holy Ghost by the prophets; and the prophets are not altogether in favour with the higher critics, and have suffered considerably from their arbitrary and baseless speculations. There is the assertion of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church, which again requires to be manipulated so as to mean something wholly different from what is intended. And

there is the assertion of the remission of sins through the sacrament of baptism, which is very unpalatable to the "Liberals." But on the whole there have not been so many direct attacks on this Creed; perhaps because it is so embedded in the highest act of worship of the whole Catholic Church that they cannot well do anything with it except to explain it away.¹

The Athanasian Creed has been found to be the one most open to attack, as some of its statements are likely to sound most unpopular to the general mass of unbelievers or half-believers upon whose approval the "Liberals" count. Every one knows how bitterly it has been attacked for many years. Every one knows how that attack has been carried on in all sorts of ways. Either it was wanting in accuracy of translation, or the "warning clauses" were no real parts of it, but only its "setting"; or it was the "Hymn Quicunque" and so not properly a Creed at all; or it was likely to be misunderstood,—and so, although thoroughly true and "valuable," its use ought to be suppressed. This latter theory was perhaps the most wonderful

¹ See "The Resurrection of Jesus Christ," by Canon Hensley Henson, *The Hibbert Journal*, vol. ii. No. 3, April, 1904.

See also "Dr. Gore and the Creeds," *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 1, November, 1904.

of all, as if the duty of the Church were to *suppress* anything that might be misunderstood instead of instructing her people in the true meaning.

The assault on the Athanasian Creed was felt to be serious because it, of all the Creeds, asserts clearly what sinful man likes to forget—viz. our responsibility for holding the faith if it has been placed before us, in fact our responsibility for our belief; and because it, of all the Creeds, asserts in the most uncompromising language our Lord's teaching as to the consequences of persistent and unrepented sin. Objections to the Creed have been made, so unworthy and so hollow that they have really been degrading to the character of the modern Anglican Church. It has been pretended that it condemned in an unqualified way all those who did not actually hold, because they did not really know, the propositions put forward by the Creed. To pretend to cling to such an absurd objection, is to forget all the necessary conditions implied in any general statement. People in ordinary life are not false when they say that they are going on such and such a journey to-morrow because they do not express the understood condition that they only do so if they are still alive. There are necessary conditions implied in every statement, and well understood.

The broad statement of the Athanasian Creed as to the everlasting perishing of those who do not believe faithfully the Catholic Faith is a general statement, subject to all sorts of mitigations and conditions, most of which are known only to the Eternal Judge Himself. This objection is so hollow that one cannot but be amazed that any reasonable person should honestly have put it forward.

It is, however, true that the objections made against this Creed have been usually against "the warning clauses." Objectors have always attacked them, and we have been told again and again in somewhat sensational style that they cause "pain and distress" to many. It seemed probable, however, that the objections of the "Liberals" went deeper. Now we know they do. "The objection to the *Quicumque Vult*, however," writes a prominent dignitary, "extends far beyond the absurd and uncharitable damnatory clauses."¹ It ought, therefore, to be remembered by those who defend and those who attack the Creed, and by all in authority, that the objections are not only to the "damnatory" or "warning clauses," the meaning of which can be easily misrepresented *ad captandum*,^{*} but to the other parts of the Creed as well.

¹ Archdeacon Wilberforce, in *The Times*, August 9, 1905.

* *ad captandum vulgus*

To the Creed of St. Athanasius (as it is popularly called), or the *Quicunque Vult*, a Catholic Churchman clings.

(1) It has pleased God again and again to use works of anonymous or doubtful authorship to be impressed by the Spirit on the mind of the Church. Such was the Apostles' Creed, coming from the remotest antiquity; such is the Athanasian Creed, found necessary in later times; more than ever necessary for times like ours. It was of Latin origin, and certainly was commented upon by Venantius Fortunatus as an accepted statement of the Church's faith, side by side with the Lord's Prayer, as early as A.D. 570, so that it must have had a much earlier origin.

We know that it was in all probability written in Gaul before the Council of Chalcedon, and specially referred to the Apollinarian heresy, which appeared about A.D. 360.

(2) It states definitely the sum of revelation on the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the need of a right faith (when it can be had), the responsibility for our belief, the awful consequences of persistent, unrepented sin—as our Lord Himself states them—and the duty and blessedness of a good life and the danger of an evil one.

(3) It is the one Creed which clearly and

definitely states the connection, which must exist if faith is to be living and saving, between *belief* and *practice*. It is the one Creed that distinctly reminds us : (i) If your soul is to be in a state of safety, think of and worship God as He has revealed Himself to be ; (ii) Having this faith, hold it, live it, do good ; (iii) If you deliberately put away the faith God has revealed, if you do not try to act it out, you are ruining yourself, you will, instead of health and salvation, be in a state of everlasting perishing.

(4) In doing this, it fills up anything not fully expressed in the other Creeds, and explains, supplements, completes them, and does not omit a part of our Lord's teaching which we ought very seriously to remember.

If there is danger, it is right and charitable to warn people of danger. The Church is bound to teach, to support, to comfort, but also to *warn*.

"The Prophet Ezekiel is," says a great teacher, "emphatically the prophet of the moral significance of the law and of personal responsibility."¹ He speaks plainly in this way : "When I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die ; and thou givest him not warning, nor speakest to

¹ Dean Church, *The Discipline of the Christian Character*, chap. iii. p. 70.

warn the wicked from his wicked way, to save his life ; the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thy hand. Yet if thou warn the wicked, and he turn not from his wickedness, nor from his wicked way, he shall die in his iniquity ; but thou hast delivered thy soul.”¹ Personal responsibility for *warning* against the danger of sin is asserted herein ; but how much more the responsibility of a Church ! It was the instinct of the Church, divinely guided, which led it, ages ago, to adopt this Creed as perfectly fulfilling this Divine law—the law of the duty of accepting the Divine revelation when given, of maintaining the necessity of a right life joined to a right faith, and of warning of the danger of tampering with the faith or not maintaining the discipline of a holy life.

(5) The Creed, besides in the most careful and exact manner teaching the revelation of God as to His own triune nature, as to the mysterious relations, within the Godhead, of the Three Persons, performs this duty of warning to her own children—and in this re-echoes the teaching of her Lord. In the most grave “ resolution ” coming from the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury—though *not* from

¹ Ezek. iii. 18, 19.

all the Bishops of the Province (there was a faithful minority)—this is denied. The Bishops who are in the majority state that “in their *prima facie* meaning, and in the mind of many who hear them, those [warning] clauses convey a more unqualified statement than Scripture warrants.”¹

As to the latter clause we need not dwell upon it. A very large proportion of persons who, for one cause or another, enter an English church very probably hear statements which require qualification and explanation to bring them, *in the minds of those that hear them*, into harmony with Scripture. To a number of “those who hear them” it is notorious that the Church’s faithful assertion of regeneration in baptism conveys “a more unqualified statement than Scripture warrants”; also the solemn statements in the Prayer of Humble Access in the Communion Service convey—as many think—“a more unqualified statement than Scripture warrants.” The same may be said of the statement as to “the benefit of Absolution” in the Long Exhortation.

If once the Anglican Church were to countenance the extraordinary rule that objections to parts of her services, made by all sorts of self-satisfied

¹ *Resolutions of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury*, July, 1905.

people, as being "unscriptural," are to be accepted as a reason for putting those parts away, there will be soon very little of her service left, for "all men have not faith."¹ It is a startling doctrine and a novel one that the Church is here to *withdraw* the revelation committed to her care as soon as that revelation is not popular. The Church is a "*teacher* sent from God," if she is anything, and she is to *teach* the meaning of her message to any who misunderstand it, to those who oppose. She is to *witness*; she is never, without being guilty of unfaithfulness, to *withdraw*. The phrase "in the mind of those that hear them" in the episcopal resolution cannot be defended unless we surrender the teaching office of the Church.

Nor can the first phrase be defended. It may be questioned whether it is within the competence of a number of Bishops in one Province of the Catholic Church² to appear to disparage a Catholic

¹ 2 Thess. iii. 2.

² Some seem to object to the Church of England being "Two Provinces in the Catholic Church." If not, what is it? It is talked of as "an entity in itself"; one ecclesiastical journal talks of any other belief being "Little Englandism." What can such language mean? Surely Christ is the Head of One Holy Catholic Church; and is so, in spite of "the quarrel in the Family." There are Provinces in England, France, America, Africa, and so on.

Creed. It may be within their power to arrange the number of times and the several occasions on which it is to be used, but hardly to *withdraw* it from use altogether ; much less to brand such a Creed with the charge of *prima facie* unfaithfulness to Holy Scripture. It is further a grave question whether in the face of militant or contemptuous unbelief a Catholic Creed, used by the authority of " the Catholic Church of Christ,"¹ and on certain days specified by the English Church at the settlement of 1662, can be withdrawn, and that avowedly to meet the wishes of the unfaithful and disloyal, by the authority of a majority of Bishops in Convocation, without morally weakening the cause of Christianity and seriously imperilling the position of the Church as a part (as she claims to be) of the Catholic Church.

Certainly the moral shock given by such a resolution to the authority of the Anglican Episcopate is one from which it would be difficult for it ever to recover. The same ecclesiastics who hold their lofty and responsible positions on the conditions of declaring that " the three Creeds "—of which one is that " commonly called the Athanasian Creed "—are to be " thoroughly

¹ Prayer Book Preface.

received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture," are found declaring that parts of one of those Creeds "convey a more unqualified statement than Scripture warrants."

How can Catholic Churchmen feel any security that, with authorities on whom—from whatever kindly motives—their pledged word of obligation seems to sit so lightly, there may not be a willingness to throw a fresh "sop to Cerberus" when Cerberus desires one? Not long ago the majority of the clergy of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury sent a resolution to the Upper House, declaring their own belief in the clause of the Apostles' Creed which asserts the Virgin Birth of our Blessed Lord, and praying the Upper House to declare that the Church of England held that truth and required it to be held and taught by her clergy. To *that* resolution no reply has ever been vouchsafed, but to the clamour of a few "Liberal" deniers of the Creed the answer *has* been given in the words of a resolution which is in the teeth of the eighth article of religion by which Bishops and clergy are alike bound.

Nothing that has happened in all our troubles

has ever so shaken the moral authority of the Bishops, or so jeopardised the Catholic position of the Church of England, or been such a real triumph for the "Liberals."

The Bishops indeed declare that they are "resolved to maintain unimpaired the Catholic faith in the Holy Trinity and in the Incarnation, etc." This is doubtless declared in all sincerity ; but what weight can be given to such a resolution of dignitaries who have impaired their own moral authority ? *Qui s'excuse s'accuse*. This is felt to ring hollow, when *the* Catholic Creed which most carefully teaches these great doctrines, and warns of the dangers of tampering with faith, and of the danger of not making conduct correspond with faith, is to be deliberately shelved by the same authorities who make this declaration.

Again, this tremendous step has been taken "in view of the distress and alienation of mind which the public recitation of these minatory clauses causes to many serious Churchmen." This again is doubtless stated in all sincerity and from excellent motives ; none the less, it cannot but be felt that this language is a very serious exaggeration and quite out of all proportion to the facts. The present writer has had the experience of

between forty and fifty years of a fairly strenuous ministry, among all ranks and all sorts and conditions of men, and never once has he come across a case of "distress and alienation" among "serious Churchmen" as to the warnings in the Catholic Creed. He *has* come across "distress" in America among "serious Churchmen," at the removal of this Creed from its rightful position, in dark and perplexing days, by the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, and he has heard of an unbeliever or a "crank" here and there shutting his book and sitting down during the recitation of this Creed; but the Catholic Church has not hitherto been supposed to suppress her witness to necessary truth at the bidding of unbelievers or "cranks."

The Bishops who have joined the "Liberals" in the attack on the Creeds are certainly in difficulties. They seem to have a suspicion that no new edition of *Jus Liturgicum*, of which so much has been heard lately, can really allow them to tamper with a Catholic Creed.¹ They desire authority—so one resolution tells us—to create what has been justly

¹ See *The Athanasian Creed*, *Jus Liturgicum*, and a Letter by Chancellor Espin, March 29, 1905 (Church Printing Company). Also, on the whole question, the speech delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the English Church Union, June 16, 1904, by W. C. E. Newbolt, Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's.

and wittily called "local option in religion." Whence the authority is to come from we are not told. We can hardly have reached such a stage of Erastianism as to ask for authority from a Royal Commission, or from Parliament! And yet there is a *prima facie* appearance of truth in the suggestion that (such is the irony of the situation!) the House of Commons may be, at the moment, the great hindrance to the Church of England, or at least a majority of her Bishops, disparaging and displacing one of the Catholic Creeds! However, one thing is sadly clear, viz. that the "sapping and mining" of the "Liberals," first in the region of Holy Scripture, then in the region of the Creeds, has *told*. Lord Salisbury's "thin line" has been clearing the way, with the help of Bishops, Deans, Professors—some of whom do not appear to see the ultimate consequences of the premises which they have adopted; and behind them, making use of the way they have cleared, come marching on the serried ranks of unbelief.

However, at the moment, the Bishops (or rather the majority of them) have, *as far as they are able*, destroyed the moral authority of the Anglican Episcopate; swept away (for better, for worse) the claims of the Thirty-nine Articles to the allegiance of the clergy, and gone a step onward in shaking

the Catholic position of the Church of England. It is clear enough, after this momentous revolution, that even if candidates for Holy Orders are still required to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, owing to some State necessity, they can no longer be expected really to attach any importance to their signature or their declaration of assent and consent. The Articles (for better, for worse) are gone, so far as a majority of the Bishops of the Southern Province can destroy their force. Who is guilty of one point is guilty of all. If the Bishops have branded one article (to which they have subscribed) as untrue, no one can blame the clergy if they handle any or every one of the rest with equal freedom. And worse : if the Bishops disparage one of the Catholic Creeds, they can hardly blame clergy or laity if they disparage, or throw doubts on the truth of, others. We shall only need a little more "distress and alienation of mind" among some of these "serious Churchmen" with regard to clauses in the Apostles' or Nicene Creed—say as to the Virgin Birth or the Resurrection—to find those "venerable symbols" bowed out and stowed away so as not to cause distress to "the modern mind." To that day the "Liberals" avowedly look forward. The resolutions of the Upper House of the Convocation

of Canterbury in May, 1905, mark an unexampled "Liberal" triumph.¹

But, in a matter of such seriousness, can it be said that the statements of the Creed go beyond what Scripture warrants, and that therefore the eighth article is not true?

Our Lord on more than one occasion *warned* men in language which can scarcely be surpassed in severity (1) of the danger of unbelief, (2) of the danger of rejecting truth offered to them, (3) of the danger of an evil life or of neglecting to do good. He *warned*. "He directed [the thoughts of his hearers] to the obvious and threatening likeness which the heavenly road of duty and faith has to all our experience of the present world: to the broad plain fact that in all things requiring effort the few succeed, the many fail. . . ." He drew "certain broad, distinct, intelligible lines about the issues of right and wrong, and about the future of men in respect of them: and there He has left things. . . ." "His words about the future, so

¹ See "The Athanasian Creed," *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 3, p. 195, June, 1905. See *Church Times*, June 25, 1905: "Our rulers have withdrawn their moral support from 'the law-abiding clergy,' and so, having done irreparable mischief, postpone further action until 1908."

far as they go, are severe words. The New Testament is a very severe book, as well as a very hopeful one. It takes a very severe view of the world, and of the ways and conduct of men. And certainly our Lord's teaching is not the least stern part of it. Look at it carefully and you will find how large a proportion the language of rebuke and warning bears to the language of consolation and promise : the one is as grave, as anxious, as alarming, as the other is gracious beyond all our hopes. . . ." As to those who obstinately do evil, ⁴ His wrath is terrible, its expression is unrestrained. ⁵ Better were it for that man that he had never been born " ; " O generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell ? " " He has thrown new shadows upon sin. . . . He has deepened and fixed the lines about judgment, about its certainty, its search- ingness, its serious reality . . . an awful breadth of promise and of doom." That is evidently true, and how entirely the Athanasian Creed answers to it. Our Lord does not enter into the diversified shades of character and opportunity ; much is allowed to be *understood*, the ordinary conditions are *taken for granted*. " The Judge of all the earth shall do *right*." That is assumed. There is in the Creed, as in our Lord's

solemn warnings, “*an awful breadth of promise and of doom.*”¹

This is no mere Catholic and (as “Liberals” would say) “narrow” view. The same view has been expressed to the present writer more than once by one who did not at all agree with him on all points—the dear and lamented late Charles Kingsley. Professor Maurice had his own mystical idea as to the etymological meaning of “eternal.” He treats the word as though describing a quality, having no relation to time. This is at least ingenious. Somehow it scarcely commands conviction. The doctrine of the awful consequences of persistent sin is not drawn merely from those passages of Scripture where the word “eternal,” “age-long” (αἰώνιος) occurs; but in any case no two men would have been more shocked at the recent resolutions of the majority of the Bishops than Charles Kingsley and Frederick Denison Maurice. They—in the highest degree—valued the Athanasian Creed. One cannot imagine anything that would have shocked them more than what sounds very like the levity of one Bishop, who says of the Creed that “it does more harm than good,” and the (one is bound almost to say)

¹ Dean Church, *Human Life and its Conditions, Sin and Judgment*, pp. 101–104.

irreverence of another, who allows himself to speak of the warning clauses—the echo of our Blessed Lord's words—as “savage.” The resolutions following on the debate of the Convocation of May have not, one greatly fears, raised the moral prestige of the Anglican Episcopate. As to the “Liberals,” they—in the lengths to which they have gone—would be disowned by the serious and earnest “Broad Churchmen” of the past.

“He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, he that believeth not shall be damned,” says Christ. “He that believeth not is condemned,” re-echoes St. John. Those that do evil and not good and act a part are described by Christ as having “the greater damnation.” Then the various forms of carelessness about doing good are condemned by Christ to “everlasting punishment.” And so it is truly said, “Whatever may be the measures and differences of sin, we cannot misunderstand about retribution, absolute, as terrible as words can describe it, on sin which has not been forgiven.”¹ *Not believing* (of course we understand if souls had the opportunity to do so) and *not doing right* according to belief, are the sins prominently brought forward, exactly as in the Creed, for punishment. “We

¹ *Human Life and its Conditions*, p. 106.

cannot," then, "misunderstand the appalling significance, far as it is beyond our power to fathom it, of the 'wrath of God'; and the phrase belongs to the New Testament as truly as that of 'the love of God.'"¹

"Of the closing retribution our Lord has used words and figures which have graven themselves deep in the memory and imagination of mankind—the eternal punishment (*κόλασιν*), the fire that never shall be quenched, the worm that dieth not, the place of torment prepared for the devil and his angels. What could our Saviour mean us to understand by all this? Surely He did not mean simply to frighten us. Surely He meant us to take His words as true. We may put aside the New Testament altogether; but if we profess to be guided by it, is there anything but a "certain fearful looking for of judgment and of fiery indignation," for unbelief and for a bad life, "for obstinate, impenitent, unforgiven sin, sin without excuse and without change"?²

The Athanasian Creed is an echo—indeed a feeble echo—of all this. But it is an echo; the Church's voice of teaching and then of warning, after the example of her Master, of the serious

¹ *Human Life and its Conditions*, p. 107.

² *Ibid.*

danger of unbelief in revealed truth and of conduct unworthy of one's faith. Is it credible that in the face of all this a number of Bishops should wish to withdraw from the attention of their flocks the *one* Creed of the Church which echoes—though it only mildly echoes—the awful warnings of her Lord? Is it credible that they should have the hardihood to say that it “conveys a more unqualified statement”—of “the wrath to come”—“than Scripture warrants”? It is scarcely credible. Yet that has actually been done by a number of Anglican prelates!

The time too when this step has been taken adds gravity, in the mind of a Catholic, to the step itself. “The warning clauses” in the Athanasian Creed are “the only statement in our Church services (*in contradiction to the prevailing wrong opinion of the day*) that a definite faith in the truths which our Lord revealed is essential to salvation in those who can have it; in other words, that right faith as well as right life is essential to salvation, since our Lord has so declared it. And as a much greater contempt of God can be shown by rejecting what He reveals than by disobeying what He commands,” the silencing of the Creed proposed is more serious.¹

¹ *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, vol. iv. p. 248.

At the present day Christianity has *affected* the civilised world wide and far. There has been gradually a softening of manners. But, with this, the severer side of the revelation of Christ has been lost sight of. Men are fairly inclined in civilised countries and governments also to recognise, to some extent, the obligations of *some* of the commandments in the Second Table of the Decalogue, while the breach of *some* (the seventh, for instance) they do not much regard ; but they are inclined wholly to ignore the greater part of the First Table. Christian morality *has*, to a certain extent, affected them. Even though not careful or watchful Christians in their own lives, a considerable amount of kindlier feeling towards their fellow creatures prevails, and philanthropic projects (sometimes indeed so arranged as to be opportunities for amusements, like bazaars, concerts, balls for charitable objects) are welcomed. "The East End" has become fashionable. Ladies of position and ability interest themselves in social questions, organise movements, and speak very ably in public. Dogma, however, is exceedingly disliked. Morality, of a kind, and high sentiments and kindly acts are supposed to be the sum and substance of Christianity. People are easily carried away by a

torrent of enthusiasm into what *really* means little more to themselves than obedience to a fashion, or submission to the fashions of society. Everything is "on the move" now, and people think they must move too, and so fashionable Philanthropy usurps the place of Religion. It is felt to be useful for society. The utilitarian sides of it commend it to the English mind. Rich people are enabled by it to live lives of luxury and pleasure and to console themselves under the rebukes of conscience by an expenditure of a certain amount of money. To sign a cheque, when people have plenty of money, for an avowedly good object, approved by the public voice, costs less than religious strictness, or a good and conscientious life, or a real and practical sense of stewardship for God.

And so men deceive themselves often—and the flood of sin rolls on. Yet one day *each* soul must stand before God to answer for its "obedience to the Faith" and its good life or the reverse: "*every one* [of us] shall give an account of himself." ¹

And so, in a time of much activity and feverish energy even about religious things, there is an ever-increasing immorality under the surface, and

¹ See Rom. xiv. 12.

an ever-increasing indifference to God and His revelation.

A Church may catch the infection. Has it ? The Church of England has reason to tremble. Set as the teacher of unalterable truth and unalterable moral law, and as the witness to a Saviour tender beyond words to a penitent, but severe beyond thought to wilful unbelief and sin—is this a time for her—whilst feverish indeed, like the world, in her “activities” and almost swamped with conferences, congresses, schemes for new bishoprics, and the projects of innumerable societies—to suppress one of the Catholic Creeds ; and *the* Creed too, which demands a right faith and a right life, and warns, as our Lord warned, of the awful consequences of carelessness in belief and slackness in conduct ?

It seems a strange time for passing such resolutions ; is there not a danger of playing into the hands of “the world” ?

II

The “Liberals” have consistently disliked the Creeds. As we have seen, according to the view approved by them the Creeds are really only “the metaphysical speculations of the fourth century,” and “are only a transitory stage in the march

of human thought." Entirely inaccurate as this view is, it is the "Liberal" view; and so the Creeds have "no valid claim to finality, and must not be identified with the permanent substance of Christianity." The task which the "Liberals" set before them is, in plain English, the abolition of the Creeds. There is supposed—according to them—to be "a religious substance" in the Creeds that can only be discovered by criticism; it is to be "liberated" from the antiquated and sometimes untrue statements proceeding from the Greek mind, and this "religious substance," so discovered, is to be re-expressed "in terms acceptable to the modern mind."

"Liberalism" in this is perfectly consistent. It acts towards the Creeds as it acts towards the Bible. Divine revelation is, with it (if there be such a thing), the "experience" of different minds. As these "experiences" differ so it differs. It takes history indeed into account, but it is history as arranged by itself. It has, clearly, no belief whatever in the Catholic Church as "the pillar and ground of the truth." It is the exercise of individual opinion, of private judgment run mad. Its "Credo" is not "in the Holy Catholic Church," but "in criticism," especially when carried on by "experts" or by

a "court of trained research." It is intolerable to it that the Church should have attempted to fix the meaning of Scripture and the substance of Divine revelation in Creeds. Creeds must be attacked and demolished as the Bible has been, and for them must be subjected such statements as are "acceptable to the modern mind." ¹

Such principles are obviously in direct opposition to the principles proposed by the formularies of the Church of England.

However, "Liberals"—as we have seen—have been able to hold their own and act as teachers in the Church of England partly by the protection of the State, and more still by the doctrine of "ministerial" conscience alluded to before, so that they have been able to use formularies which are to them only partially true or entirely false, provided that they do all in their power to effect a change. Whether this position can be morally justified is not the question—that is for them to settle with their own consciences; but it *is* their position.

That they have had, and have, considerable success in their attack on the Bible we all know.

¹ See "The Task of Liberal Theology," *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 1, November, 1904.

They have continued to assert its enormous value, while dissecting it and dispensing with much of it ; so that they have greatly shaken the national faith in the Bible, and indeed left it in considerable doubt (until the court of trained experts decide !) what *is* the Bible—how much of it is true, and how much false.

Their appeal to “ the court of trained experts ” is not unlike—what they are never weary of deriding—the Anglican appeal of Bishop Andrewes and others to “ a truly Œcumenical Council when t may be had ”—with this difference, that “ truly Œcumenical Councils *have* decided in the past, and the Church of England proposes to act on their decisions ; while a “ court of trained experts ” never has existed, never has entered into the constitutional ideas of the Church, and in fact exists only in the fairyland—the *νεφελοκοκκυγία*—of the “ Liberal ” imagination.

The “ Liberal ” success in the attack on the Bible has more and more emboldened them in their attack on the Creeds, in the efforts to “ re-express ” their view of Christianity “ in terms acceptable to the modern mind.”

Before reconstruction, however, must come demolition ; and here, so far, they have not failed to win some measure of success. “ Liberal ” ideas

have taken some hold on the Episcopate. This is the serious feature of the present situation in the Church of England, and it is recognised with joy by the "Liberals." Lord Halifax speaks truly when he says "the authority and use of the Athanasian Creed is again being made the subject of attack as it was thirty years ago. The attack then was by God's blessing defeated by the resolution of Dr. Pusey and Canon Liddon, and by the action of clergy and laity throughout the country." "The present attack," he adds, "and it is this which makes it so serious, is *being made with the sanction and approval of members of the Episcopate, and that too when the foundations of the faith are being called in question.*"¹

Some of the Bishops do not seem to realise that they are shaking the very foundations of the Church of England as a part of the Catholic Church. The "Liberals," however, do realise and rejoice. They may be said to "laugh in their sleeves" at the simple unconsciousness of some of the Bishops in helping to destroy the Church. The resolutions of some of the Bishops are to the "Liberals" "in themselves most acceptable."

¹ See Note prefixed to Canon Newbolt's speech at the Anniversary Meeting of the English Church Union, June 16, 1904. (Office, *The Church Times*.)

The "Liberals" had, apparently from loyalty and docility, accepted the defeat of the former attack (not unnaturally from their saving principle, already alluded to, of "ministerial" conscience), but not the less the Creed in its warning clauses had been "painful from its ruthless intolerance." Evidently it was their duty to express belief (*ministerially*) in what they did not believe! And then, above all, "Canon Gore, who was so learned, so large-hearted, and on such excellent terms with men of liberal opinions," had taught them to feel a real satisfaction in the use of the Athanasian Creed.

Then came a change. As Dr. Gore had made the methods and results of the Higher Criticism popular; as he, above all—as it certainly appears—in the teeth of the decisions of a General Council, had backed up the theory that our Lord made mistakes, knew no more than the teachers of His age knew, and stated things that criticism has shown to be untrue,—so now the "Liberals" were overjoyed to find that, being himself a Bishop, he turned round upon the obnoxious Creed which he had once so ably defended, and "took up a position which was a distinct step in the direction of more liberal ideas and a definite advance in his own theological position"; he seemed to bow to the

opinion of the Dean of Westminster because he was a good Latin scholar, and to fall in with the favourite "Liberal" absurdity that you must say the Creed without any of the understood conditions used in any statement ever made, and it appeared that he "openly confessed" that when the Creed spoke of "everlasting perishing" from unbelief it included all who did not hold the Faith, whether or not they had ever had a chance of knowing it, and whether or not they "have done good" or done evil.¹

This was a triumph for the "Liberals." Here they had a Bishop who had (however unintentionally and from whatever excellent motives) shaken the faith of many in the Bible, who had also gone perilously near the denial of our Lord's divinity by upholding the Kenotic theory, and who now denounced one of the Catholic Creeds. The real "Liberal" triumph in the matter has been that neither Bible nor Creed (so it would appear) rests on the authority of the witness of the Catholic Church, but that whatever of either is still left rests on private opinion and individual criticism. Here was a door opened by episcopal hands for the entrance into the Church of

¹ "The Athanasian Creed," *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 3, June, 1905.

England of these favourite principles of "free thought."

And now the Liberal cause seemed to *march*. This is evident : for if it be open to the Episcopate to declare part of the teaching of one Creed to be unsound, wrong, unscriptural, and having so declared to withdraw it from public use ; if the Creed is thus stigmatised as at best a well-meant effort to teach truth, but a mistaken effort because, in the opinion of one Bishop, whoever framed the Creed interpreted it in a narrower and more severe way than we do now ; if this conclusion is arrived at by one Bishop, apparently with the assistance of a Dean who is "in fact our best scholar in the Latin of that period" (viz. the period when the Bishop imagines the Creed to have been originally formed) ; if, then, other Bishops are led on to disparage and displace the Creed, under pressure of "Liberalism," and if the Church acquiesces in such an action,—then, without any manner of doubt, the Catholic position of the Church of England becomes seriously compromised. The two principles are face to face and in direct antagonism. Is "the Holy Catholic Church" the witness of what is truth and what is not ? Is the Church of England faithful to Catholic consent ? That is, Is the

Catholic principle the sovereign and governing principle, or is it open to any Bishop or any body of Bishops, or any layman or body of laymen, to decide as to the teaching of the Church by their own private views of the results of criticism? Is the Church of England committed to this? If so, that is a species of "Liberalism" which, one would fear, must lead inevitably to unbelief.

The "Liberals" recognised this and hailed Dr. Gore's *volte-face* on the subject of the Athanasian Creed as "the inauguration of a new epoch."¹

The "Liberals," as we have seen, were indignant at Dr. Gore for warning a clergyman in the diocese of Worcester that it was "not consistent with honour" to retain his position as a teacher in the Church of England while denying "the Virgin Birth" in the Apostles' Creed. They had some justification for their indignation; for however right Dr. Gore was in his statement, and whatever other grounds there may have been for the resignation of the clergyman in question, it is evident that Dr. Gore's acceptance of the clause in the Apostles' Creed and repudiation of certain clauses in the Athanasian Creed were not grounded

¹ "The Athanasian Creed," *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 3, June, 1905, p. 191.

on Catholic principles, but merely on private preferences as the result of individual criticism.

The "Liberals" themselves, not altogether unjustly, consider this mode of proceeding as "the first mutterings of an Anglican Ultramontaniam which intends to place the liberties of the English Church at the mercy of individual Episcopal caprice."¹ They are also justified when they "emphatically protest against the attempt of Dr. Gore" to take his own eclectic line "on the flimsy pretext that the 'I believe' in the Creeds means something different from the 'I unfeignedly believe' in the ordination service." And they are not unfair in saying as follows:

"It might be pleaded by a sophist that the Athanasian Creed does not involve a confession of our personal faith; there is no 'I believe' in the formulary. But that plea would be contemptible. For in spite of the stress that has been laid of late years in controversy, for obvious reasons, on the choral character of the *Quicumque*" (so that, as has been well said, "we are tempted to ask whether it is unnecessary to believe what we sing, as for instance the creed-like *Te Deum*, or whether soft music acts as a sort of disinfectant which does away with the pernicious elements,

¹ *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 1, November, 1904, p. 62.

or the sternness of dogmatic facts")¹—in spite of this disingenuous sophistry, "the fact of course remains that in the Eighth Article of Religion it is one 'of the Symbola Tria—Nicænum, Athanasii, et quod vulgo Apostolorum appellatur, omnino recepienda et credenda,' and that the expression of the rubric 'instead of the Apostles' Creed, this confession of our Christian faith, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius' sufficiently indicates the mind of our Church on the subject. Accordingly we are told by Dr. Liddon (*University Sermons* ii. 135 note) that 'to refer to the *Quicunque* as a Psalm may be only a pedantic crotchet; but if it is intended to imply that as a Psalm the *Quicunque* is not properly a Creed, this is to contradict the formal language of the Church of England both in the Articles and in the Prayer Book. ' "

All this is perfectly true, and the "Liberals" truly place "individual Episcopal caprice" in an awkward dilemma. Putting together Dr. Gore's utterance as to the "natural meaning" of the Athanasian Creed, as to the dishonour involved in denying a clause in the Apostles' Creed, and as to the binding force of this Creed, it appears according to such a standard :

¹ Canon Newbolt's *Speech*, pp. 6, 7.

(1) We must say the Athanasian Creed as the rubric directs.

(2) We cannot really believe the monitory clauses which it contains.

(3) It is inconsistent with public honour to say the clauses if you do not believe them.¹

Such is the result of "individual Episcopal caprice" as a substitute for Catholic principles.

The Archbishop of Canterbury in his reply to the deputation headed by Canon Newbolt indicated that the responsibility of reopening the discussion rested chiefly with Dr. Gore—now Bishop of Birmingham. Angry as "Liberals" were at Dr. Gore's eclecticism in defending a clause in one Creed and attacking a clause or clauses in another, they are yet pleased at his action. The recognition that his action as to the Athanasian Creed "is surely the inauguration of a new epoch in this matter"² is full and complete among them, and they are not wrong. He has carried with him the majority of the Upper House in the attack on the Creed. The Bishops, under his guidance, have surpassed themselves: They have been acting *ultra vires*. *Pace* the "Liberals" the Catholic Creeds are *fundamental*; and no set of Bishops

¹ *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 3, June, 1905, pp. 193, 194.

² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

has any right whatever to create "local option in religion" or to silence a Catholic Creed under pressure from unbelief. For the clergy or faithful laity to admit such a principle would not be Catholic obedience which is due to the teaching of the Catholic Church, it would be merely "Episcopalatry."

The "Liberals" are not slow to see this. They see that Bishop Gore—"as far as the meaning of assent to the Articles, the Prayer Book, and the Bible is concerned"—"has abandoned the position of the traditionalist party as represented by such men as Pusey and Liddon," *i.e.* those who are faithful to the Catholic position of the Church of England, "and come over to the side of the hated Latitudinarians," *i.e.* to the principles of individualism and criticism, and "think what you like." They see that he has managed to carry a majority of the Bishops—consciously or unconsciously—with him. But he had held, evidently—in his statements to the clergyman in the diocese of Worcester who had denied the Virgin Birth and for some reason or other resigned his preferment after Dr. Gore's (then Bishop of Worcester) remonstrance—that "there was something fundamental about the Creeds." He was right in doing so. So there is. They *are*

fundamental. Dr. Gore looked upon them—and rightly—as “the most definite doctrinal requirement made upon the clergy” (we may add, and for that matter on the laity too); “they simply assert that the historical records were true in fact and admitted of no ambiguity.” We may add that every word they use comes *with the whole authority of the Catholic Church, and cannot be tampered with by one Bishop or any body of Bishops* in one Province of that Church. But the “Liberals” are quick enough to notice the “eclectic” character of some Episcopal teaching and action. “This theory,” say the “Liberals”—and not without reason—“breaks down in a rather ridiculous way as soon as the Bishop himself attempts to apply it to the facts. One of the very Creeds which he has just been telling us is fundamental, and on which he passionately declares there can be no compromise, he has elsewhere declared to be unscriptural and cannot be accepted in a natural sense. Surely all reasonable men will agree that a theory which involves an admission such as this is in a very precarious position.”¹

Here the “Liberals” are right but for one point of which they have lost sight. It is not the

¹ *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 1, November, 1904, pp. 59-61.

“theory” which “breaks down.” It is not the “theory” which “involves such an admission.” The “theory” is simple truth. The “theory” involves no such admission. What does lead to a *reductio ad absurdum*, one with which the “Liberals” have a right, if they like, to make merry, is the attempt to deal with the fundamental doctrines of the Church according to “Episcopal caprice” instead of according to “Catholic consent.”

The Bishops are “overseers” to see that Catholic doctrine and Catholic practice prevail, but they are as much servants of the Catholic Church as the most undistinguished country clergyman, and these opinions, directions, and rulings are worth less than nothing when they part from the consent of the Catholic Church.

The “Liberals” themselves have a dim glimmer of this obvious fact, as will be seen by the following words: “It would be interesting to know where Convocation has acquired the right to dispense a Bishop or any other clergyman from what he believes to be his legal and conscientious obligations. Convocation has absolutely no right to dispense a Bishop from his obligations. As far as we can gather the mind of the Church of England from its authoritative formularies, the Athanasian Creed is the most authoritative of all Anglican Creeds.

It is the Creed which is expressly ordered to be repeated at the most solemn periods of the ecclesiastical year." The deduction is therefore drawn by the "Liberals" that, if the "theory" of the fundamental and unassailable character of the Creeds holds good anywhere, "it is more applicable to the Athanasian Creed than to any other formulary of the English Church."¹

We now arrive at the real attitude of the "Liberals" as to the Creeds. They easily make an end of Episcopal eclecticism. If one Creed is to be treated as *fundamental* in the English Church, so is another. If one is sacrosanct, so is another. There is no Episcopal authority that can touch them, mutilate them, misplace them, silence them. This is the truth. The Bishops are bound by the solemn recognition of these Catholic summaries of the faith as every one else is. The Creeds are above the Bishops, not the Bishops above the Creeds. That is the position of the *Anglican*, by her claim to be a part of the *Catholic* Church; and she is plain on this point in Article VIII. of the Thirty-nine Articles.

However, the "Liberals'" view of the Creeds comes out clearly enough from their own statements. They look upon the Church of England

¹ *The Liberal Churchman*, No. 1, November, 1904, pp. 60, 61.

as a "great national, liberal institution for the propagation of the Christian religion" (what "the Christian religion" is they do not mention, nor do they seem to have any very clear idea).

The voice or consensus of the Catholic Church is of no consequence to them. What *is* of consequence is "the Clerical Subscription Act of 1865," "the Magna Charta of Anglican liberty." The opinion of Archdeacon Wilson and of "Canon Sanday, a high orthodox divine," determines their attitude. It is not that the Holy Scriptures "*are* the Word of God," but "*contain* the Word of God"; not that the "Catholic Creeds" are "a literal and historic profession" or summary of the fundamental teachings of "the Word of God," and that the Church has been guided to adopt them, according to Christ's promise, as fundamental and infallible,—but that they also only somehow "contain the Word of God." As in studying the Bible we shall need, on the "Liberal" hypothesis, as we have seen, a Bible printed in red and black to show us what is true and what is false, so we shall need the Creeds to be treated. As we shall need for the study of the Bible an "expert" at our elbow to keep us up to the ever-changing views of "the Critics," so we shall need the constant aid of

such an "expert" to keep us *au fait* with the meaning (from time to time) of the Creeds. As for belief in "the Holy Catholic Church," it is gone! It is a merely "mediæval" idea, still unhappily clung to by "obscurantists," *i.e.* believers. The ideal is that the Church of England should go forth on a voyage of discovery without compass, without rudder, without chart. She is to have a "great liberating object." As to the Creeds, they are tiresome obstructions in the way of liberal explorations. If they must be there, they are to be interpreted in ways wholly alien to their meaning and their history; and indeed an Episcopate which may be trusted to ignore Catholic principles as to the teaching of the Catholic Church is to be induced—with caution of course, and by slow degrees—to empty the Creeds of their meaning, or to withdraw them from the use of the Church. Here is the Liberal ideal in a nutshell: no Creeds, no binding beliefs, no definite teaching, no Bible with any Divine certainty—though "valuable" in some vague way; the gradual evacuation of the Church of England formularies of any definite meaning; the substitution of individual criticism for the witness of the Catholic Church. Here we are on the open sea, with pious expressions indeed, but individual "free thought." This is the

confessed ideal of "Liberal" Churchmen. Is it the ideal of the Church of England? Has she fallen so low that this is her teaching? Has she, in fact, apostatised? Can she no more claim to be part of the Catholic Church? Is she merely a more or less pious "Liberal" debating club?

The "Liberals" seem astonished at the Catholic reverence for the Athanasian Creed and its warning clauses. They wonder why we do not put forward, instead of these, the Sermon on the Mount and the parables of our Lord—so opposed, as they seem to think, to severity or warning. It is strange how looseness of thought on all religious and theological subjects closes their eyes to plain facts. The summing up of the Sermon on the Mount in its awful warning to the man who "built his house upon the sand," and the "great was the fall of it": *this* is forgotten. The parable of the tares, and the burning of them; of the draw-net, and the "casting of the bad away"; of the punishment where "shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth"; of the unmerciful servant; of the shutting out of the "foolish virgins"; of the punishment of the "wicked and slothful servant"; of "the man without the wedding garment"; of "the rich man" in "the place of torment,"—these are all forgotten, to say nothing of the Last

Great Assize and the terrible separation of "the lost." If these are borne in mind, we shall find "Liberals" speaking with scorn of the "absurd and uncharitable" warning clauses in Christ's teaching, and, conceivably, some Anglican Bishop denouncing as "savage" "the wailing and gnashing of teeth," "the unquenchable fire," "the everlasting punishment," the "fire prepared for the devil and his angels"—the sayings, in fact, of our Lord Himself, more severe than the utterances of the Church, who only re-echoes them in her Creed. It is the very terrible line taken by a majority of the Bishops in our southern province which makes this vast confusion of Liberal unbelief or half-belief so serious now.

When so many Bishops seem to endorse "Liberal" errors, the situation is grave. When they choose a time of increasing unbelief to hide away the Church's one clear witness as to the necessity of a right faith and the duty of showing it in a good life, and the awful consequences of neglect in such witness—then believing Churchmen may well be staggered.

It was this feeling which led the English Church Union (which has for long been the chief bulwark against faithlessness to the Prayer Book, either on the part of Erastian Bishops or "Liberal"

unbelievers) to declare, among other things, in its Report that the Bishops showed by their desire for authority to silence the Creed, a "willingness to refrain from declaring the whole counsel of God." The truth of this proposition would appear to a Catholic Churchman to be obvious. The three Creeds are the three great summaries of the Christian faith according to the emphatic teaching of the Church of England; to keep back any part of them is to "shun" to declare unto men "the *whole* counsel of God." The Bishops as well as the clergy are bound by Article VIII. If that Article is true, every word in the Athanasian Creed is a part of "the whole counsel of God." As we have pointed out before, the Bishops may declare for revolution. They may propose that the Articles should be abolished; but so long as the Articles stand, so long as English Bishops hold their office as Bishops on condition of accepting them, so long must it be said—with no soft clinging to "Episcopality"—that in trying to silence the open recitation of the Creed they are acting, however unintentionally, in a manner inconsistent with their most solemn undertakings, and, worse still, are shunning to "declare" "the whole counsel of God."

"Liberalism," however, is "in the air"; and the

present Head of the Pusey House, an attached friend of Dr. Gore, objected to that statement in the Report, and with him two other eminent men on the Council. With great generosity, and contrary to precedent, the editor of *The Church Union Gazette* agreed to publish the letters on the subject. He did well in doing so. It only shows—so it seems to us—in a clearer light the obvious truth of the statement of the Council.¹

¹ The following is an extract from *The Guardian* of August 16, 1905 :—

“ THE E.C.U. REPORT AND THE ATHANASIAN CREED

“ *The Church Union Gazette* for August contains the following letter, which was addressed to Viscount Halifax :

“ ‘ June 12, 1905.

“ ‘ DEAR PRESIDENT,—We feel bound to express to you the deep regret with which we read some expressions in the annual report about the resolutions of the Bishops in Convocation on the subject of *Quicumque Vult*, and especially the statement that one of them “ amounts to an expression of willingness to refrain from declaring the whole counsel of God.” We are sure that nothing is intended but a vigorous defence of the faith, but we think this statement unjust, and its publication by the Union seems to us very unfortunate.

“ ‘ V. S. S. COLES, Pusey House, Oxford.

“ ‘ T. A. LACEY, Highgate.

“ ‘ EDWARD DENNY, St. Peter’s, Vauxhall.’

“ The editor of *The Church Union Gazette* quotes from the summary of the proceedings of the council, contending that it was made clear that the latter part of the paragraph, which treated of the resolutions of the Bishops in the Convocation of

Among the many ills from which the Church of England at present suffers, "Episcopality" is not one of the least. It seems as if some men, having wholly repudiated not merely the supremacy, but even the primacy of the See of Peter,

Canterbury on May 11, 1905, and was the outcome of long and close consideration in council—the paragraph being first considered and voted on 'sentence by sentence,' and afterwards submitted 'as a whole as amended'—was not adopted by an absolutely unanimous vote, when submitted as a whole, but that three members of council (thirty-eight being present) voted against its adoption. With regard to Mr. Coles's request that this letter should be published, the editor goes on to say :

" ' We had some hesitation as to the right course to take in regard to Mr. Coles's request, more especially as the annual report has now been "received" by the members of the Union at their annual meeting. There is no precedent for the publication in *The Church Union Gazette* of anything of the nature of a protest by individual members of council against the action taken by the council as a whole at a meeting at which they were present. Indeed, there is a very strong precedent the other way, on an occasion when the minority was not 3 out of 38, but when the council was nearly equally divided, and the protest of the minority was not published. Nevertheless, we decided to print the letter given above (1) because it seems, on the whole, that if any members of council, whether few or many, wish at any time to dissociate themselves publicly from any portion of the action or words of the council, it is better that they should be allowed to do so ; and (2) because it seems right that their constituents in the Union, whom they represent, should know exactly where they differ in judgment from the council.

" ' Perhaps we may be allowed to point out, in defence of the statement especially objected to by the three signatories, that the minatory clauses either are, or are not, part of "the whole

have contracted a superstitious worship of Bishops which amounts to an extended and multiplied Papalism. The Neo-Anglicans or Eclectics are peculiarly subject to this form of superstition, and even the "Liberals," when circumstances require, are not wholly free from it.

counsel of God." If they are not, the Bishops ought not to have subscribed to Article VIII., or to require subscription to it from candidates for Ordination; if, however, these words are part of "the whole counsel of God," then, surely, the Bishops, in proclaiming in their third resolution their "desire that each diocesan Bishop should be authorised . . . to dispense with the public recitation of the *Quicunque Vult* either on all" (mark the word "all") "or some of the days when the rubric orders its recitation," are distinctly expressing their "willingness to refrain from declaring the whole counsel of God," or, to be quite precise, their willingness to allow their clergy to refrain from declaring it, which amounts to the same thing.' "

The following is also interesting. It appears in *The Church Union Gazette* for September, 1905 :—

"THE ANNUAL REPORT AND THE ATHANASIAN CREED

"SIR,—You will not wish to prolong a discussion on the matter, but may I point out what is the injustice done, as we think, to the Bishops in the Annual Report.

"From the fact that a man thinks it unwise to declare a particular part of the Counsel of God in a particular way you cannot justly infer that he is willing to 'refrain from declaring the whole Counsel of God.' You might as reasonably argue that because a man objects to a particular mode of building a house he is opposed to houses altogether, and thinks we ought to live in tents.

"I have no doubt at all that the minatory clauses of *Quicunque Vult* express a part, and a very important part, of the Counsel

Anyhow, "Liberal" teaching, whether more restrained or advanced, makes short work of the Bible and the Creeds.

of God, but I have never heard any one suggest that our particular use of *Quicunque Vult* is the only, or even the best possible, way of declaring that Counsel. If any one thinks it a mischievous way, I may not agree with him, and I may oppose him strenuously ; but I have no right to infer and to assert that he therefore wishes to refrain from declaring that Counsel altogether.

"This sort of injustice—the injustice of implied motive and of exaggerated inference—is exactly what Members of the English Church Union are constantly suffering from. It is a pity for us to return it on others.

"It is, of course, quite another matter when men declare, like the Cambridge protesters, their actual disbelief in the Counsel of God.—Yours faithfully, T. A. LACEY."

"[We quite see the point of Mr. Lacey's argument, and the importance of it in the abstract, viz. the difference between objecting to a particular way and time of proclaiming the Warnings of God, and objecting to proclaiming them at all. But Mr. Lacey must pardon us for saying that the argument has no bearing whatever on the case of the Bishops' third Resolution, criticised in the Annual Report of the E.C.U., because in that Resolution, while the Bishops express a desire to be able to dispense with the public recitation by Clergy and Laity of the Warnings of God in the only place where such recitation occurs in Divine Service, they do not propose to substitute any other mode or time of reciting them. It will hardly be argued that the circumstances of the present day are such as to make it no longer necessary to call on the Clergy and Laity to recite those words of Warning as heretofore]."

IX

THE WEAK AND THE STRONG POINTS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

I

WE shall better, perhaps, see why there are such varying ideals in the Church of England if we remember her weak points and her strong points.

It is never difficult to write a panegyric. There is a side of goodness in almost everything. A panegyric, however, is based on one-sidedness ; and if we want to see things *as they are*, we must look at more sides than one. It is difficult, for the reasonable veneer of a harmless hypocrisy, which covers many official sayings, has to be to a certain extent respected. There is a peculiar Episcopal dialect that, apparently, has to be preserved, even by the best of men, in places of authority. There is an affection, from habit or prejudice, when we look at the Church to which we are accustomed and which by an absurd but pardonable exaggeration we call “ our mother ”—

as if anything could be so designated with propriety short of the majestic mother, “ the Catholic Church of Christ.” There are prejudices and kindly feelings and accepted views which hinder us. But none the less, to speak of strong points without acknowledging weak ones is to write a panegyric—that is, a sublimated untruth. The good points of the English Church are so good that any believer in her place and mission can afford to acknowledge the weak points ; and very weak points there have been, and are, which must be acknowledged if we are to see daylight in the matter and account for conflicting ideals, and suggest any possible way for bringing them into approximate harmony.

There need be no hesitation, therefore, as there has not been any in the previous pages, in putting our finger upon the *weak* points, in order, all the more, that we may bring out the *strong*.

And with this conviction we may begin, by observing that the English people—say what men will—are a profoundly religious people. They may be said to be prejudiced, and illogical, and sometimes stupid, and sometimes very tiresome. They may be said to be slow to grasp an idea, and rather inclined to bore you by the most bald prose when you are thinking in poetry ; they may be materialistic, or *borné*, or slow, or conservative. They are

necessarily insular and self-appreciative and somewhat narrow, nay, even "parochial"; they may at times be vulgar or pretentious or self-satisfied and annoying, or too fond of "respectable" appearances, or self-conscious and *gauche*, and afraid of one another's opinion and snobbish and conventional—they may or may not be all this—but yet it is true they are a good people, and sterling stuff, and *profoundly religious*.

There may be among them some with lazy intellects, with vague views and indeterminate conclusions, who call themselves agnostics; but they are not aggressive agnostics. They may dabble in unbelief a little, or affect indifference to theology, or "put on" a little "side"—as one says—and play at being contemptuous at "ecclesiastical squabbles"; they may affect entire indifference, though they *know* it is affectation,—but *militant scepticism* they abominate. It may vapour in Hyde Park occasionally, it may sniff at the Church in a fashionable drawing-room, it may air itself in obscure weekly "dreadfuls"; but it hasn't a chance with the nation. There is a sense of God, of another world, of responsibility, of duty, of a Providence that watches over all, of the seriousness of sin even when they are sinning, of the greatness of goodness even when they are

not good, of the fact and power of conscience even when they do not sufficiently listen to it or obey it—there is all this in this nation. The English are a *profoundly religious* people. Even when Nonconformist leaders behave atrociously about education, and talk as if such a vapour as *undenominationalism* could satisfy a soul, the mass of them do not desire that their children should be brought up without God. The English, we venture to repeat—whatever men say, and in spite of their pretence to the contrary—are, with many faults, a sound and noble nation—a *profoundly religious people*.

And the first count against the Church, until the Catholic effort came, is that she forgot or ignored this fact.

The Wesleyans did not forget it, but they got clear off the line. The Evangelicals did not ignore it, but they used dissenting methods—never used the power of the Church: lived, and live, *in* the Church, whilst denying much of her teaching. The Catholic Movement recognised it, acted on it, used the religious instinct and changed the religious tone of England by so acting and so recognising, but to do so they have had again and again to fight the official Church. *It* moves slowly, and they have, to some extent—just because they are

true to the Catholic principles it professes and forgets—to fight it now.

There are details in the history and action of the Church of England which bring out its *weak* points, in this regard.

(1) The first weak point is its *narrowness*, which has hindered it—up to the Oxford Movement, the Catholic revival—from commending itself to the English people. This it acquired from the time of the great struggle in Henry VIII.'s reign. The nation then, as a whole, were not discontented with the old forms and status of the Church. There were practical abuses ; but no corruptions among the clergy, religious or secular, nor even the money exactions of ecclesiastical courts, much less any devotion to Tyndale and the Scriptures in English (which is a Protestant romance), effected the change in the nation's mind. In spite of Henry's arbitrary measures, in spite of the unchecked proceedings under Edward VI., Mary commanded enthusiasm on ascending the throne, and had no difficulty in temporarily healing the rent in Western Christendom. The majority, there is every reason to believe, were in favour of "the old way" far into the reign of Elizabeth. The Government and the Bishops (who were the tools of the Government) had the greatest difficulty

in turning the clergy and their flocks from their attachment to the old faith and the old ways. The charge of widespread immorality among the clergy is an invention of later date, and in fact an afterthought. Contemporary documents do not bear out these charges, and in truth—whatever virtues Protestantism has developed—the Catholic religion, whether Roman or Anglican, has been a power for chastity and purity (as contrasted with the ways of its opponents) even to this day. Indeed the violent reformers of “the new learning” furnish evidence of far greater corruption in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth than in earlier days.¹

The force of the Reformation came from the rise of the middle classes. “Its services, its teaching” (as the careful and learned reviewer of the original documents of the time shows), “its character, are in a great degree moulded by the tastes and requirements of the middle classes. Its intense loyalty, its exaggerated respect for established order and decorum”—quite another thing than any real submission to God

¹ See Brewer, *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. p. 470, note. Also *Innovations*, a Lecture, by Dr. Littledale Mowbray, Oxford, 1868. Also Prof. Gairdner, *History of the English Church*, chap. xiii. pp. 253, 254.

and His revelation, as stiffness is not devotion, nor pomposity reverence—and so “its dislike to mysticism, its tendency to dwell exclusively on” (what is called) “the practical side of Christianity, are so many indications of the class who watched over its birth and superintended its progress. Its efforts to accommodate itself to the wants of busy men and the exigencies of society, as if it were not the sole foundation, but a portion only, and perhaps no better than a permitted portion of the nation, betray the influences to which it was subjected from its cradle.”¹

So it is that while in other parts of the Church, or even in religions outside the Church, the failings, emotions, imagination of men were not forgotten, the Church of England has had *a certain narrowness* in apparently forgetting these and thinking only of reason and conscience. It has thought too little of the spiritual nature of man, too much of his moral and utilitarian side,—hence the “Dearly Beloveds” of the Prayer Book, with their stilted and pedantic expressions—showing less a reliance on Divine grace than a too narrow trust in influence and edification; hence the tendency to magnify the office of the preacher

¹ See Brewer, *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. p. 471.

as distinct from the office of the priest. For, apart from the rousing of the better powers of the Church by the Catholic revival, "the Englishman of the middle class estimates a Church, established or otherwise, by its utility; he measures its importance by its usefulness to his family, to his village, or to his parish, and lastly, perhaps least of all, to himself. For the secular society in which he moves, its opinions, its rules, and its usages, have a stronger hold upon him than any other; its powers and its anathemas are more terrible, because more tangible and more material, than any spiritual censure. Hence it is that though his Christianity is decorous, it is never enthusiastic; though it enters into his daily life, it is not elevated. He is moral, but not devout; religious, but not fervent; strictly observant of his duties, but intolerant and impatient of anything beyond them." ¹

These influences affected the Reformation and *narrowed* the Church. A general tone of what is called "sobriety," and an absence of any very high requirements in the Prayer Book, more or less contented middle-class Englishmen with it. There is a side of it with which they were not content. That is, with puritanical strands in its

¹ Brewer, *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. pp. 471, 472.

texture emerging here and there, still there was something in it not congenial even to the middle classes.

The Church has had "its imaginative tendencies, its spiritual exercises, its retreats, its saints' days, and its vigils"; but the Englishman of the middle class felt "little favour" for these—"partly as interfering with business, to success in which he owes his importance, and which he loves for its own sake, partly because he regards these things as relapses into superstition, or at best as excuses for idleness. Hence the Reformation has produced no books of devotion comparable to Thomas à Kempis or Francis de Sales. And whereas for ten centuries previous to the Reformation there was scarce a period in the history of the Church in which works of religious meditation and devotional writings did not appear, there is but one book of devotion in the Church of England which has held its place and obtained any general acceptance among its people, and that is the Book of Common Prayer. . . . But the bitter opposition which the Prayer Book encountered from the reformers themselves, the contempt with which it was treated, because it was derived in the main from the ancient services. . . . the inadequate appreciation of

its excellence even now, and the impenetrable satisfaction with which lay and clerical reformers, who could not compose one of the simplest of its collects, proposed to dismember, to reform, or to modify it, are evidences enough that it is not the genuine product of the Reformation.”¹

The only way in which it could be tolerated and used by the great middle classes, to whose rise and influence the Reformation owed its origin, has been by dropping out of sight, or ignoring, or treating as mere “paper theology,” all that is Catholic in it. In this way the Church of England has been *narrowed*.

(2) Another defect has undoubtedly been this, that, “though in its new career and modified independence it professed to be guided by primitive antiquity, it was of necessity influenced by the sentiments and opinions of those classes to whom it was mainly indebted for its new position.”²

The “appeal to antiquity” has its drawbacks, because of course ancient writers can be differently interpreted by different people : and consequently there has been a certain weakness in the standard of the Church whenever its leading authorities have only spoken of an “appeal to antiquity” and

¹ Brewer, *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. p. 472.

² *Ibid.*, p. 475.

forgotten the importance of "Catholic consent." There has been, almost inevitably, an inconsistency in the supposed appeal to the primitive Church. For instance, the mode of appointment to the Episcopate is not at all according to the method of primitive antiquity. "The primitive Bishops were appointed by the members of their own order, with the approbation of the people of the diocese. The Bishops in England are appointed solely by the Crown."

Not only in the matter of Church government has the appeal been inconsistent, but the requiring of the clergy to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles—however useful that requirement may be, and however excellent the Articles are—is certainly not according to the practice of primitive antiquity. Primitive antiquity also recognises the giving of confirmation to infants immediately after baptism, and the Eucharist immediately after that; it recognises the use of unction both in baptism and confirmation, as well as exorcism in baptism. It undoubtedly recognises the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the sick and dying; the mixture of water with the wine for the Blessed Sacrament, and clear and unmistakable prayers for the dead. We all know how these things have been dropped out in the

Church of England, and how some of them have been only recovered by the energy and devotion and struggles of the clergy who have held Catholic principles, with the assistance of the faithful laity. Just lately it has been proposed that the line should be drawn "as marking the limits of what is ancient and Catholic" in this way, "that if a doctrine or a practice could be shown to have adequate authority within the first six centuries, it ought not to be treated as inadmissible within the Church."

This rule, we know, would admit the use of incense in the celebration of the Eucharist; we also know how, quite recently, great efforts have been made to put a stop to that use. But even those who would draw the line at the first six centuries—and thereby seem to imply that the Holy Ghost could not work in the body of the Catholic Church, in guiding her in doctrine or practice, after A.D. 600—a very strange supposition—are not consistent in the application of their new proposal. For it appears that "practices" may even in those centuries have been "occasional," and, according to this new rule, they are only to be admitted by us if they had "had the support of some settled authority"; and "it would not follow even then that they [such

practices] were altogether right or desirable, but they would fall within the sphere of that which had Catholic countenance.”¹

This new arrangement does not get us any farther, but leaves this particular *weakness* in the Church's position, viz. the inconsistent manner of appeal to primitive antiquity, much as it was before. It is evident that we should then require a standing committee of experts to decide what “would fall within the sphere of that which had Catholic countenance,” and then, further, they would have to decide whether the *prima facie* claim to be regarded as allowable could be made out to be really solid or not. It is a marvellous notion that “doctrines and practices which arose after that date,” whether good or bad, would have to “stand on their own merits,” but could not claim to be “Catholic.” Surely this sort of interpretation of the appeal of the Church of England to primitive antiquity and Catholic consent is an absolute *reductio ad absurdum*. It has been a *weakness* in the Church of England that her professed appeals to Catholic antiquity and Catholic consent have been so inconsistently carried out. “The Church has submitted,” so says the

¹ See Proposals brought forward by Dr. Wace, the present Dean of Canterbury.

same historian referred to before, "more than once, with comparative indifference to the dictation of the middle classes; whether that dictation was indirectly expressed through the general influence exercised by them over public opinion, or directly by their accredited representatives, the Houses of Lords and Commons. For no one who has read the history of this nation to any purpose will suppose that the House of Lords has been occupied, since the Reformation, in vindicating the peculiar rights of feudal privileges of the aristocracy, any more than it represents that aristocracy in its present tastes and pursuits."

The Upper and Lower House "have faithfully reflected the feelings and wishes of the middle classes, from which classes, since the Tudor times, they have in the main sprung. They have had immense influence upon the Church of England. In every great epoch of the Church's history, in every modification of its ritual and teaching, whether by legislation, or tacit consent independent of legislation, such concessions have been uniformly made to the will of the laity, or rather to those classes of the laity who have always been most interested in the Church. On no occasion has the appeal been made to some

supposed standard of Catholic antiquity.”¹ It is this sort of inconsistency in carrying out the meaning of Catholic consent which has been a *weakness* to the Church, and is a *weakness* now.

We have already spoken of the injury done by mere *stiffness*, by considering what would harmonise best with the tastes and feelings of cultivated, busy, and good people, but people who did not wish the Church to be over-exacting either in her discipline or devotions. We may also note how the Church has failed, in great measure, by *neglecting to consult the needs of the poor*, “rich in faith.” It may be questioned whether the rearrangement and translation of the priests’ offices, turned into matins and evensong intended to be congregational, has not proved unpractical and indeed detrimental to the religious life of the *whole* body of the people. Practically, these offices, with their lengthy and often very unsuitable selections from Scripture as lessons, have been allowed to take the place of the Lord’s own service—the Eucharist, Holy Communion, or Mass, whichever it may be called—and, consequently, the professed desire for increased communions has for long diminished communions, and the too

¹ Brewer, *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. pp. 476, 477.

wholesale sweeping away of various devotions by way of avoiding "superstition" has chilled off the poor and created vast varieties of dissent. No one who looks honestly in the face of facts can really deny that these are weak points in the Church of England.

II

Any fair review, however, of the situation must take account of the strong points of the Church of England. Some of the weak points to which we have alluded have come, inevitably, from such a convulsion as the Reformation. It was, as we have seen, in many respects a terrible calamity. It *must* be a calamity to the mind of any thoughtful Christian that the Catholic body should have had these external rents. A family quarrel is always a calamity, and, while there were faults and sins on both sides, there were sure to be weaknesses resulting from this terrible separation. It has induced, as we have seen, weaknesses in the Anglican part of the Catholic Church, as we cannot but believe it has also produced weaknesses in that larger part of Western Christendom which remains in communion with the Holy See. Wilful and deliberate separation from the Catholic Church of Christ would be the sin of schism, and terrible

indeed is the responsibility of those who cause schism.

One strong point of the Anglican position is that *she desired no separation* from the other parts of the Western Church, and that it was only *necessity* which drove her—because of various moral corruptions, and because of certain worldly practices which were eating into the life of Christendom—to carry out a Reformation. Necessity is above law, and the Council of Trent—itself a reforming council—is a witness to the fact that other parts of the Western Church, as well as the Anglican Church, felt the force of this necessity. We may indeed imagine, sadly, how different things would have been, how much evil would have been averted, how much stronger the whole united Church would have remained, if a real reformation had been carried out by the entire body at unity in itself.

Had the Popes of the Renaissance been morally and spiritually alive to the true duties involved in the position of the Primatial See ; had the various political powers of Europe at the time been thinking more of the cause of religion and less of their own interests ; had Henry VIII. been less of a wilful tyrant, and his creatures—such as Cranmer and Cromwell—been men

of vigour and high principle ; had the advisers of Edward VI., who were in fact the rulers of England in Church and State, been less rapacious and greedy of money ; had the Spanish question never arisen to stir up the fierce and just independent spirit of Englishmen ; had the Pope, in the days of Elizabeth, been less ill-advised and hasty ; had the Council of Trent met some thirty years before it did meet ; had the rudimentary ideas of Christian toleration and charity ruled the minds of Kings and Bishops, and indeed people in general,—how different the story of these later years of Christianity, how different the history of the English Church and of Western Christendom, might have been ! But, alas ! here we are dealing with a world of imagination. The world of fact was very different. We cannot fail to see, in the whole history, the terrible consequences of sin in different parts of the Church, but also the marvels of God's overruling providence " out of darkness bringing light."

It is marvellous, considering the convulsion of thought in all those years of the Reformation, that by the final settlements of 1662 the Church of England has such strong points as she has. She maintained the great Catholic statements of the central truths of the Catholic Faith, and placed

them explicitly and prominently before the minds of her people : the Apostles' Creed in the matins and evensong and in the office for Holy Baptism ; the extended form of the Nicene Creed in the Eucharistic Service or Mass ; and the Athanasian Creed—teaching carefully the great doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, and the serious sinfulness of deliberately rejecting the Faith if once it has been known—on the great festivals, and some other important days in the service for matins. She maintained rigorously the three divinely appointed orders of the ministry, and forbade any man to “be accounted or taken to be a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon in the Church of England,” or to execute any of the sacred functions of such, unless he had been properly ordained or consecrated, either by the English ordinal or by some other where *episcopal* ordination and consecration were used. She maintained the power of the *Sacerdotium* whether in its extended form in the Episcopate or its more limited in the second order of the ministry ; maintaining therefore the power of consecration of the Blessed Sacrament, of conveying absolution to those who repented and confessed their sins, and of giving God's blessing to His people. She required her clergy to say

their daily office "either privately or openly, not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause."

The arrangements of the service for the Holy Communion or Mass were indeed changed in many particulars and the office unfortunately dislocated as in our present form, but *the essential parts* were always preserved. If as a matter of fact, for so long, it was placed in a subordinate position practically, the structure of the services of the Church of England does not justify its being so placed. The evensong of the previous day (as is shown by the arrangement of the Collects) and the matins of the following day, as well as the Litany on the appointed days, were meant to be a preparation for the Great Service ; and if unfortunately this turned out in the event to prove in some respects not altogether practical, yet the relegation of the Eucharist or Mass into the position that many of us remember as the "second service" is not in accordance with the teaching of the Anglican Church. This is evident because the notices of the Holy Days and Fasting Days, and of communion for those who intended to make their communions, were appointed to be given during the Eucharistic service ; also, banns of marriage were to be published then ; and briefs

and citations and excommunications were to be read. It was evidently intended also that *all* baptized Christians, and of course (and in some sense, above all, because of their "innocency") *children* were to be admitted to "hear Mass"; for in the baptismal service the sponsors are reminded that children are to hear sermons, and sermons were not appointed except in that service. If children were excluded from "hearing Mass," this was an abuse, and contrary to our Lord's saying, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not"; and if the effort is made, as it sometimes is made, by some Anglican Bishops to interfere with "children's Eucharists," it is an effort to revive an abuse, not to carry out the arrangements of the Church of England.

If some of the rubrics were influenced by Puritan feeling, and if the sacrificial character of the Eucharist was less clearly taught than the duty of communion, this was probably as a witness against some mistaken notion that "the sacrifice of the Mass" was something besides, and in addition to, the one great sacrifice once and for ever offered on the Cross. As the meaning of the true Eucharistic doctrine, both as to the communion and as to the sacrifice, has been more clearly brought out

in the revived days of the Church's life, the rubric about four, or three at the least, communicating with the priest in very small parishes, numbering less than twenty persons who can communicate, has become obsolete : partly because no such parishes exist ; partly because the revived sense of the duty of worshipping God at His own great service among the faithful has brought a revived sense of the duty and blessing of communion at proper times ; partly because common sense teaches us that it is better for Christians to be present and "hear Mass" and join at least in devout thoughts as to the power of our Lord's Passion, when not actually making their communions, than to be indulging in sloth and lying in bed on Sunday mornings ; partly because Christian men must feel that, whether or no such a rubric was justified at the time of its composition, it does not appear to be quite reverent to try, as it has been said, to go "one better" than our Lord Himself, who speaks of "two or three," not "three or four," being gathered together in His name ; partly because such a rubric must be excused, like another and antique and obsolete rubric about sending in names to the curate some time the day before, on the ground of its having been special for a particular time and is obsolete

now ; partly because it is evidently a lowering of the spiritual life to endeavour to hinder a priest making his communion, or one person or two persons making their communions, unless a third person or a fourth person also make their communions *at the same moment*.

Common sense has shown the Church that two or three of these rubrics are necessarily obsolete in a time of revived Church life, when there are large numbers of communicants, and that it would be " straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel " to insist upon such. In any case, they must stand or fall together ; and a priest who could by no means be required to compel his people to send their names in the day before their communion can be by no means required *only* to offer the Holy Sacrifice and receive his communion, when he has " four or at the least three " persons present to communicate on some one day, when probably on the Sunday he may have twenty, thirty, seventy, a hundred, to communicate with him. Certainly some of the rubrics relating to Collects and Proper Preface imply the idea of a Daily Mass where it may be. If there are some apparent inconsistencies in rubrics, the Church of England anyhow appeals to Catholic consent, and protests that she does not put away any laudable

customs of "the whole Catholic Church of Christ"; so that if some obsolete rubrics are to be used to justify the ways of the more Puritan sections of the clergy or people, at least they cannot—without contradicting the fundamental principle of the Church of England—be revived to hinder the devotional life of Catholic Churchmen.

The Reformation was, as we have seen, a time of terrible collision and convulsion, and such times must leave their scars behind them. Those scars have been left on the Anglican Church as elsewhere; but if we regret some losses we have a right to thank God for what remains. The work of saving the Church of England as a true part of the Catholic Church was no easy work. "The wildest heresies," it has been truly said, "about the Trinity and the Incarnation were prevalent in England. The Puritan forces which were arrayed against the historic system of the Church were at times very strong. To maintain, as the Church of England did maintain, central truth, an episcopal ministry, Catholic worship and the setting of the sacramental life was a work that could hardly have been accomplished apart from the overruling power of the providence of God. It is an instructive task to compare the history of the Protestant bodies on the

continent of Europe with that of the English Church.”¹

It does not appear that the Church of England has anywhere denied the Primacy of the See of Peter, although she has emphatically denied the Supremacy of the occupant of that See. To those who believe the New Testament the Primacy would appear, in all probability, as according to the mind of Christ. The interpretation put upon our Lord's words and upon the after-history of Christendom has of course varied. Those who accept the Roman obedience believe naturally in the superiority of the arguments of Bellarmine and Suarez and Baronius and the learned members of the Society of Jesus. Those who reject the Supremacy as a true interpretation of our Lord's words in Scripture, and of the mind of the Church, naturally believe in the arguments of Andrewes and Bramhall. Bishop Andrewes's prayer expresses very really the mind of an English Catholic. He prays, “for the Catholic Church, its establishment and increase; for the Eastern, its deliverance and union; for the Western, its adjustment and peace; for the British, the supply of what is wanting in it, the strengthening of that which remains in it.” There

¹ Newbolt and Stone, *The Church of England*.

are then very strong points in the position of the English Church, and more especially her claim to be part of the Catholic Church and in all fundamental and necessary points of Christian belief to teach what it teaches.

And further, if in some ways the Church of England showed, as we have seen, *narrowness* and *weakness*, and too much subservience to the State, yet these points which we must deplore are to a great extent accidents, or misfortunes, arising out of the Reformation struggle. In some respects one of her great glories is that in her *essential* position she is large-minded and generous. She does not profess in herself to be infallible, or to assert that she has made no mistakes. She professes that the rest of Western Christendom, and Eastern Christendom, are as much parts of the Catholic Church as she is. She takes professedly a large view with regard to the sacrament of penance, confession, and absolution, teaching the reality and the gifts and blessings of it, but laying no compulsion on conscience with regard to it: commanding her priests to offer opportunities for it before communion, and teaching them to *move* sick persons to it before death; but her priest in speaking of it is authorised practically to say *may* or *ought*,

but never *must*. Her tendency is to respect the conscience, and to throw final responsibility upon the conscience, not upon the priest.

In the same way she has been generous in her comprehensiveness, to a fault. We know in our own days how that spirit of "comprehensiveness" has been abused, but there is much to be said in its favour. If the Church maintains unbendingly the three Catholic Creeds, the tradition of the Apostles' with regard to the Sacraments, the succession of the Apostolic Ministry—then it would certainly seem that she ought to be comprehensive and allow a very wide margin for varying opinion, considering how the human mind is affected by a thousand different currents, and how men may often say or think inadvertently what borders on heresy, with no desire whatever to be heretical in the sense in which St. Paul speaks of heresy as a very grave sin. There are two points in which the policy of comprehensiveness seems to have been carried to a perilous extreme.

(1) As to the necessity of Episcopacy. It has been said by a thoughtful writer, "In the matter of the ministry she took pains to secure a succession of episcopally ordained clergy and that no others should minister within her fold"; and he declared that, as a matter of fact, "the ministry

of the Church had always included the episcopal order ; she stopped short at requiring a declaration of belief in the absolute necessity of Bishops as a speculative opinion apart from any practical act." If by this was meant that the Church did not take upon herself to condemn those who through no fault of their own were brought up in non-episcopal bodies, and who clearly show by the goodness of their lives that " grace overflows the Sacraments," and that God loves and helps those who diligently seek Him even though they do not enjoy the fulness of His revelation, nor have the highest opportunities for receiving His grace—this is quite right ; or, if the Church merely means to bring home the truth that the *Sacerdotium* is shared by Bishops and priests alike, while from certain exercises of it (such as Confirmation and Ordination) priests are restrained—again well and good, for this would be a warning against attempted *papalism* (a warning not unneeded) in any individual Bishop. But if such comprehensiveness were meant to imply that, according to the mind of Christ, Bishops are not needed, surely it would be wrong and an abuse of the policy of comprehension, for it has been by no means clear in many instances that Bishops have been for the *bene esse* (for the *well* being) of the Church. Surely

it is an act of faith to a Catholic in such cases that Bishops are of the *esse* (of the Being) of the Church ; and might we not have reason to fear that to maintain the Episcopate—if it is not *necessary*—is needlessly to perpetuate disunion among Christian bodies ?

(2) Another instance in which it would appear that the policy of comprehensiveness may have been carried too far is this, viz. the quiet dropping out from the Prayer Book of the order for the Sacrament of Unction. This sacrament, together with the other four, is necessarily of a lower dignity than the two great “ sacraments of the Gospel,” but still—even if it had been abused—the dropping it out from the practical system of the Church, and omitting the service for it, which even the Prayer Book of 1549 contains, is a very serious blot, and an example of where the right effort for comprehensiveness may have gone too far. This is the more striking because of the appeal to the Church of England to Holy Scripture, seeing that St. James so emphatically teaches it. It looks as if our formularies had suffered somewhat from a “ touch of the tar-brush ” of Luther, who so cordially disliked the Epistle of St. James.

On the whole, however, it must in all fairness be granted that the Church of England was not

unwise in her policy of comprehensiveness, though she may have erred in details, and carried it, in some ways, too far. This is what the writers above referred to say on that subject. "Much might be written about the reasons which underlay this policy. In part, perhaps, it was due to a theory that a National Church might be made strong by being made wide, and to a wish to form a body capable of resisting the onslaughts of Rome. In part, it was the outcome of the necessities which arose from the unsettlement and differences which existed even among these who were agreed as to fundamental doctrines. In part, it bore traces of a desire to be on as friendly terms as possible with foreign Protestants. On its deeper sides it gave effect to an unwillingness to trouble tender consciences by requiring from them more than the laws of Christ demanded, and was a means of maintaining the 'hope of being allowed,' to quote the Bishop of Oxford's words, 'through faith and toil and patience, to bear a special part in forwarding, when and as God wills, His purpose of unity.'"¹ Anyhow, for good or for evil, it was the policy of the Church of England, and it may fairly be believed that on the whole it has borne more good fruit than bad.

¹ Newbolt and Stone, *The Church of England*.

If we look below the surface of our external and very serious troubles, we see—especially since the Oxford Movement and the Catholic revival—the strongest point in the work of the Church of England, and the strongest witness—amidst all her mistakes and even unfaithfulnesses to the truth of her Catholic position. She has had, and she has, an enormous power for good over the people of this country, and over the Anglo-Saxon race. Her faithfulness hitherto, in upholding the Creeds of Christendom and the integrity of the Holy Scriptures and the reality of the Sacraments, has been the means of lifting up and maintaining, even in the dissenting bodies separated from her, the great truths of the faith.

Even in her less active days there was formed under her guidance a special type of very beautiful piety. In spite of her inconsistencies; in spite of not bringing forward with sufficient clearness necessary and beautiful devotions; in spite of dropping out of her services the “Hail, Mary,” so instinct with true devotion, so Scriptural, and so full of the power of protecting in the mind a true belief in the Incarnation; in spite of not clearly enough distinguishing between the misuse and the right use of the intercession of the saints, and prayers for the departed,—yet she has real

Catholic life in her ; she has possessed that extraordinary *power of recovery* which is one of the marks of the Catholic Body, and at this moment, and ever since the Catholic revival, she has been doing a quiet solid work amongst the souls of young and old—" young men and maidens, of old men and children"—which is helping them to realise a supernatural life, to grow more and more in the likeness and character of Christ, to love purity and truth and duty and self-sacrifice, to be true English Catholics and true Christians, with just that tone and colour in their religion which come from their being of the English race, and which necessarily is to be found in all nations, according to their nationality, who are taught by the Catholic Church and hold the Catholic Faith. English Christianity, English Catholicism, are indeed very real things. Doubtless they have their own tone and their own colour coming from national traits and national peculiarities, but they are none the worse for that, and they owe the Faith that governs their life to the English Church.

If, however, the real strength of the English Church is to be maintained, it must be by maintaining her fundamental Catholic position. Great freedom of opinion has prevailed and does prevail ;

but—unless there is to be disruption—there can be no tampering with her formularies, and there must be a wider spirit of tolerance and generosity in her rulers towards those in her who are true to her appointed ritual and to her standards of doctrine in Holy Scripture and the Creeds.

X

OUR PRESENT POSITION, FEARS, AND HOPES

It has been truly felt that the history of Christianity—though Christianity has changed and blessed the world—has been the history of a great disappointment. It has been felt with equal truth that the history of the Catholic Church—the appointed guardian of truth and teacher of mankind—has also been a great disappointment.

It may be said with equal truth that the history of the Church of England, *i.e.* that part of the Catholic Church which is witnessing to the Faith and administering the powers of grace to our country, has itself also been a great disappointment.

We need not be surprised at this—the Bible itself is a record of how sinful men have succeeded in spoiling God's great gifts in religion. We need not be surprised, for God's "first and primary gift to man is that he is a free moral agent ; and

with that He has given nothing to man, not power, not knowledge, not love, not remedies, which man may not, if he will, abuse and spoil."

In fact, the *ideal* is one thing, and the *reality* is quite another. We are concerned with the ideals which seem to have prevailed, or prevail, in the English part of the Catholic Church, and with the consideration of how those ideals work out in reality ; how they are in hopeless conflict ; how far the conflict is only superficial, and whether, and to what extent, they can be brought into harmony, or at least exist without the disruption of the English Church and the loss of her Catholic position.

I

OUR PRESENT POSITION

And first, our thoughts will have led us to this conclusion—that the position of the Catholic Church is not *ideal*, that it has been injured, in spite of its Divine origin and the Divine life within it, by the sins of men. Some persons are impatient because it is so, but if we study in the Bible the record of God's Ancient Church, of all He did for it, and how far it failed ; or if, again, we study the earliest and brightest days of Christianity

itself, and allow ourselves to notice the faults of even Apostles or Martyrs ; or if we study the history of an externally united Christendom with its many sinful tempers, and with its Divine atmosphere partly poisoned by the miasma of the world,—we shall not be astonished to find that different parts of the Church may sin and yet be *real* parts of the Church ; we shall not be astonished to find that perfection, even in the Church, is not to be found this side the grave. As a matter of fact, she has been sorely wounded in different ways during the many ages of her chequered life ; and she is sorely wounded now. And so it seems natural and sensible to believe that our own part of the Catholic Church would not be likely to escape that great law of partial failure which somehow seems to prevail in God's highest works for sinful man. If this be in any sense true it will lead us to be thankful for all the blessings that God has given, or may still give us, in our Church, whilst at the same time it will mitigate the self-sufficiency, the “ jingo ” spirit—if we may call it so—and the “ unctuous righteousness,” which have so prevailed amongst us, and have led to such benumbing pharisaism amongst English Churchmen, and induced even excellent men to be indignant at

anything like an acknowledgment of our own faults.

The English Church has great faults, and we have frankly to acknowledge the fact. The Reformation was a terrific catastrophe ; but the sins which led to the catastrophe were by no means all on one side.

It is surely more consistent with fact than any other explanation can be, to say that things in the Catholic Church, and in our part of it as much as elsewhere, are in serious confusion ; that there is—if we may so say—a “ great mess ” ; that this has been occasioned by a “ terrible quarrel in the Family ” ; and that we had better not employ ourselves in using hard words of other parts of the Catholic Church, but rather look at home and see what our own faults are and have been, and try to “ restore what is lost and to strengthen what remains,” and to be faithful in the vindication of the Church’s true character, and to be loyal in our own duties as we have learnt them from her Catholic teaching, and to try to see our way at least to mitigate what is wrong and to sustain what is true within her, and to possess our souls in effort and in patience and in prayer : so that—as far as *we* can effect it—even though the Church has sinned, she may never become

the teacher of heresy, and so lose God's blessing, and the Divine life, and her place in "the Catholic Church of Christ."¹

We find, in fact, how *ideals* which have been in the Church have—even when in part good—been lowered as *realities*, and those which were wholly sound have, as realities, been marred and injured.

The *Evangelical* ideal—the increase of personal piety, of personal belief in, and clinging to, Christ, of earnestness, devoutness, faith—how it changed in fact! The commands of Christ were forgotten, as if there could be living faith in Him divorced from obedience; the Sacraments were treated as "broken cisterns"; those who believed in and used them were said to trust in "magical" effects—an impiety which some modern Bishops have not been ashamed to repeat. The ridiculous notion was really believed that the Church of Christ had fallen—after the first few years of its foundation—into darkness and error for ages until Wickliff or Luther or Melancthon or Cranmer revived it and brought it into light and life. These grotesque absurdities actually possessed men's minds. The whole of Christendom—except some Protestant

¹ Preface to the Prayer Book.

bodies in England and Germany—was an “apostasy.” The occupant of the Primatial See and the Head of the Church whose “faith,” St. Paul said, “was spoken of throughout the whole world” was “Antichrist,” “the Beast,” “the Little Horn,” and so on.

Some good and holy Evangelicals are left ; but those holding the early *ideal*, for the most part, grew into the full light of Catholic faith and devotion ; and the *reality* coming out of so great an original *ideal* has become the blatant Protestantism of the present—displaying, as we have too often seen in our own day, the evil tempers, the onesidedness, the narrow prejudices, the wild and bad language, and the ferocities of the worst men of the Reformation. At best it is described, by a certainly not unsympathetic writer—one who considers the Reformation as an “intensely Christian movement, the greatest of all spiritual revivals,” one who apparently believes in the completely apostate character of the Church—as only “a whitewashed version of the apostasy of Christendom.” Never was a greater contrast than that between the Evangelical *ideal* and the actual religion of modern Protestantism.

When we turn to the “Liberal” ideal there was something in it which was great and beautiful.

“Two Oxford teachers who commanded much attention by their force and boldness—Dr. Whately and Dr. Arnold . . . were dissatisfied with the general stagnation of religious opinion. . . . They agreed in resenting the unintelligent shortsightedness which relegated such a matter to a third or fourth rank in the scale of religious teaching. They agreed also in *seizing the spiritual aspect of the Church*, and in raising the idea of it above the level of the poor and worldly conceptions” entertained at the time. Dr. Whately had, however, a strong idea of the Church as an organised body. He believed it to have come from Christ Himself and to have been “endowed with definite spiritual powers and with no other, and, whether connected with the State or not, having an independent existence and inalienable claims, with its own objects and laws, with its own moral standard and spirit and character.” Dr. Whately, in fact, had grasped the true Catholic ideal and held “the theory received from the first appearance of Christian history.

“Dr. Arnold, on the other hand, was himself a man of intense earnestness of a most lofty character, of the deepest and most sincere personal religion and devotion to our Lord, and combined with energy, diligence, fearlessness, and a noble

and manly character real spirituality of mind and deep devotion. Unfortunately he lost hold of the historical facts of the Church's foundation and development. . . . He divided the world into Christians and non-Christians ; Christians were all who professed to believe in Christ as a Divine Person and to worship Him. . . . Christian organisation was, according to circumstances, partly inevitable or expedient, partly mischievous, but in no case of Divine authority." In this way Dr. Arnold's passionate devotion, whilst it could not cease to produce excellent effects in those for whom he worked so faithfully, especially at Rugby, and his high moral tone, which represents a very noble side of Christianity—these were vitiated, and ceased to produce their best effects in the long-run by his entire want of grasp of the real history of the Christian Church. He looked upon that history not so much as showing the wonderful and supernatural effect of the Church which Christ had founded, notwithstanding the sins of many of its members, but as merely the history of a struggle between "the true idea of the Church against the false, and of the fatal disappearance of the *true* before the forces of blindness and wickedness." ¹

¹ See Dean Church, *The Oxford Movement*, pp. 4, 5, 6.

One thing is certain, that Dr. Arnold's ideal—lofty as it was in many ways—was not the ideal of the Church of England. It was not felt *then*, as we have reason to feel *now*, how completely it empties the teaching of the Church of a great deal that is distinctive of Christianity and necessary for its complete preservation. The best of men, when they leave the lines that are drawn for us all by the Catholic Church of Christ, are apt to leave behind them little of the good that was in them and many of their mistakes. Dr. Arnold may be called the father of modern “Liberalism” in the Church of England. We have seen what that ideal, carried on by men far inferior to himself, has produced and is producing. The *ideal* was to uphold a high spiritual life with what was considered loyalty to the Church of England; the *reality* has become an attack upon her from within, and the undermining of her most serious teaching as to Christ Himself, as to the Holy Scriptures, as to the Creeds of the Church, as to the Sacraments of Christ's appointing, as to the sacred ministry, as to the true character of spiritual life. As to *reality*, we see before our eyes men subscribing to formularies and expressing before the people the teaching of the Church, whilst they deliberately disbelieve it, and, whilst constantly

talking about "ethical standards," really, however unintentionally, helping on the increasing indifferentism as regards either Christian morality or the Christian religion. So good *ideals*, when careless about fundamental principles, become dangerous realities. Spener, the devout pietist of Germany, was the lineal forerunner of Strauss.

If we turn to the Catholic ideal, how much there is that is beautiful, and how saddening is the failure of full realisation of it as things stand ! The *ideal*, and, at first, once the fact, was perfect unity : an Episcopate of Divine appointment, to protect the truth revealed, to continue by regular succession its own unchanging life in the Church, and to delegate by Divine appointment its sacerdotal character to be exercised by the priesthood in certain ministrations of grace and teaching of truth ; a Primacy of honour to the See of the great Western patriarch, arising not only from his position in the Imperial City, but also from the remarkable commission of our Lord to St. Peter himself ; the canon of the Holy Scriptures gradually formed by the instinct of the Church guided by the Holy Spirit of God ; the Sacraments administered by rightfully appointed persons, with variations in some particular details, but the essential features as appointed by our Lord and His Apostles always preserved ;

then a life of worship and devotion ; then the exercise of united prayer and above all of the Lord's great service in the sacrifice of the Eucharist ; then the call to loving penitence and the means of reinstating any who had fallen to the fulness of union with the Body of Christ ; then the exercise of devout ingenuity in creating all sorts of ways for advancing the truth and sustaining the love and self-sacrifice of Christians, and so the evident Presence of the Master at work in His Church and in building up characters fit for the Divine Kingdom.

The ideal—which was once the actual—is of surpassing beauty. Reality, as we see it now, shows—not indeed the failure of the Church of Christ or of the marvellously regenerating effect of Christianity among sinful men ; but it shows how terribly the “ enemy ” has injured the complete fulfilment of the ideal : the Catholic Church with many rents in it, and the suspension of external communion ; the Primacy affected by worldliness and turned into a Supremacy which led to many usurpations ; the Episcopate often falling far beneath its high calling ; a general “ quarrel in the Family ” leading to the sad consequences to which such quarrels do lead—misunderstandings, misrepresentations, failure to keep the

Christian ideal steadily before the eyes of "the world," and hindrances thus thrown in the way, by sins on all sides in different parts of the Church ; and separations of earnest Christians into bodies where they are "under loss," and where there is no guarantee for the preservation of the Faith and of the channels appointed for supplying Divine grace.

And yet, however great has been man's sin, God in His goodness has never forsaken His Church—indeed, He has often overruled for good what appeared to promise nothing but evil. In our own Church what immense blessings have come from the great revivals of religion and from the efforts to restore things to a nearer approximation of the Catholic ideal ! Much has been done, in spite of the confusions in the Christian family, and for that we have ever reason to be thankful. But what difficulties have been and still are in the way ! There have been doubtless acts of good men which have been ill-judged ; there have been hastiness and impatience often under extreme provocation ; and yet serious men must marvel at God's goodness, on seeing the vast advance in religious earnestness, and the grasp of Catholic truth and Catholic worship and devotion, and the greater care for the poor of Christ's flock, and the stronger efforts

towards self-sacrificing lives, for the suffering, for the orphaned, for the obscure, than can be remembered only some fifty years ago. The Catholic revival has not been without its inestimable blessings. In those most earnest about it there have been grave faults, and the position of the Church in its connection with the State has created great difficulties, and the actions of authority have often been disappointing—and consequently the Church of England has not risen so near the Catholic ideal as she might ; nevertheless, if indifference and sin often startle us by their advance, we have a right also to maintain a spirit of hopefulness from the advance in faith, in Christian effort, in the spread of the Spirit of Christ. We have to face the fact, then, that the *ideal* is very different from the *real*, we have often to deplore the width of the chasm between them, but if we have serious fears we are also not without well-grounded hopes ; and the ideal we must keep before us.

II

FEARS

Many things which cause us some anxiety have come as a heritage from the Reformation. A great

historian, quoted already, says : " The Reformation in England, though propagated and moulded in a great measure by the influences of the middle classes, could not help retaining an element in itself which was not due to them, and has never heartily or wholly commanded their sympathies or their obedience. To the character thus impressed upon it at the outset it has remained honestly faithful throughout its career. It has submitted, more than once, with comparative indifference to the dictation of the middle classes ; whether that dictation was indirectly expressed through the general influence exercised by them over public opinion, or directly by the accredited representatives, the House of Lords and Commons. . . . In every epoch of the Church's history, in every modification of its ritual and teaching, whether by legislation, or tacit consent, independent of legislation, such concessions have been uniformly made to the will of the laity," or rather to those classes of the laity " which belong *not* to the poor." " On no occasion has the appeal been made to some supposed standard of Catholic antiquity." The Catholic Movement altered this to a great degree, and may be said, from one point of view, to have been a battle for the religious interests of the *lower* middle class and the poor. For this reason it has been

almost always a battle against the established prejudices of a great part of the hierarchy. Only by slow degrees and with much difficulty and many losses has the Catholic party, to some extent, won back the poor and recovered what is especially needful for them in the Church. Stiffness, and what is called "sobriety," were, as we have seen, not at all the need of a Church which was to minister to the poor of Christ.

So, it is that party that have recovered for them in part the ritual appointed by the Church of England, which gives a warmth and meaning to her services both fitting for the glory of God and needful to make the Church once more the home of the poor. At every step they have been assailed by the more Protestant higher middle class, backed up by the hierarchy. Some of us remember the days when they had to fight, not only against the dense mass of prejudice amongst the highly conservative and well-to-do people, but even against the Bishops, to recover the most ordinary decencies of service, first in the use of the surplice, and then in the use of vestments and ritual appointed for the Church for the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, then for various ways of giving warmth to our services by hymns and preachings, and then for missions, and then for

the exercise of the penitential system so that men and women might be permitted to use the sacrament of penance according to the rule of the Church of England—if they pleased.

Slowly and painfully, and inch by inch, these things have been recovered, or partially recovered. Even now and within recent times it is the hierarchy, or some of them, who have opposed one of the most needful blessings for suffering souls, viz. the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the sick and dying; and where in part this has been allowed, the greatest care seems to be taken lest Christ present “under the form of bread and wine” should be worshipped! Every effort has been made and is even still being made by some members of the hierarchy to prevent Christ’s people “hearing Mass” and joining in “the Church’s great prayer-meeting,” and only occasionally are our Episcopal charges free from some deplorable statements about what is rather absurdly called “non-communicating attendance.”

In the same way an inconsistent effort is still constantly made by some of the hierarchy to revive the obsolete rubric to which we have before referred, and to deprive Christian souls, or the priest whose life ought to be toned by his Eucharist, of making their communions unless

three other persons at the least are doing the same thing at the same moment in the same place. And in that slight act of almost natural devotion, namely, the keeping of the fast, where that is possible, before receiving communion, the hierarchy, or some of them, have thrown their influence against the more devout practice, and even lately we have heard through a pious and excellent prelate that it is wrong not only to "enjoin," but even "to sympathise with," such a devout habit !

Every Catholic priest in the Church of England who has worked hard among the young men of our time, or among the poor, knows well what difficulties have been cast in his way in trying to save souls and lift them to a higher life, by the constant habit of some members of the hierarchy, in all these things, of taking the lower line. The same may be said about the silence of so many as to the teaching of the inviolability of the marriage bond, and as to defending and maintaining the rights and duties of a parish priest to exercise his office in the matter of the religious education of the children of the poor when attacked or threatened by wrong clauses in Acts of Parliament. There has been reason enough to fear for the Catholic teaching of the

Church of England from the force of a worldly Public Opinion being recognised by the hierarchy instead of what the Church of England holds to be Catholic consent and Catholic custom. The Anglican Bishops have, and have had, their difficulties. There are, and there have been, excellent and good men on the bench, but they have often been weighted by an evil tradition or by their peculiar position in relation to the State.

The historian referred to above points out how Henry VIII. tried to give the most absolute power possible to the Bishops over the clergy, whilst he reduced the Bishops themselves to the most absolute dependence upon the Crown. "It was thus," he says, "that the dominion of the Bishops over their clergy became absolute to a degree never known before, or in any other country. The privilege conceded to a diocesan of deciding on his own authority questions affecting his clergy, without consulting his presbyters, without any regard to ecclesiastical precedent, any deference to supreme and spiritual authority, was extraordinary to say the least. It had no precedent in ecclesiastical usage. Granted at a time when submission to the voice of antiquity was the rule, and respect for the canon of faith,

derived from long habit and earlier times, was supposed to be still prominent in determining Episcopal judgments, it was imagined that this authority would be employed in strict conformity with pure Catholic usage and acknowledged Catholic standards. It was, in fact, rather intended as a counterpoise against those lay influences to which the clergy had now become subject, and as a means of securing for them some measure of that independence of which they were deprived. It was never imagined that Bishops would be less faithful to ecclesiastical precedent than the undignified clergy, or from their learning and training be less inclined than others to maintain the privileges of the Church. Ritual and ceremonies might be unsafe in the hands of men who, from the days of Tyndale, denounced all subordination of Orders, all ceremonies, all habits distinguishing the clergy from the laity ; but they could not be unsafe, it was supposed, in the keeping of those who were bound to maintain them, and see that others maintained them. With the exception, however, of Laud, if that can be called an exception, and of those who attempted to imitate him, an opposite tendency has been tacitly and steadily advancing with the advance of the Church of England.

Deference to the wishes of the great middle classes has, at all times, been the ruling influence in quarters where it might have been least expected.”¹

The writer then quotes in illustration “the utterance of an eminent and able prelate of the English Church.” His lordship concluded by saying that “English Churchmen, though not holding the tradition of the elders in a slavish spirit, were ready to adopt what was new, or modify what was old, if by so doing they could give a better and fuller expression to the consciences and feelings of the age, that is, of the middle classes—certainly not of the classes above or below them.” As to “above” we may, perhaps, now have our doubts;² as to “below” this has too often been sadly true.³

¹ Brewer, *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. p. 478.

² But Brewer includes in “the great middle class” that large number of persons who have received titles, during and since the Tudor times.

³ The following illustrative account appears in *The Church Times* of September 1, 1905 :—

“THE BISHOP’S MOVE

“BY ‘C. C.’

“The Royal Commission on Disorders in the Church has completed its sittings. Evidence of such disorders has been industriously collected, and the ‘man-in-the-street’ says, with

The Catholic Movement was to a great extent an effort to be true to Catholic teaching and practice, to enlarge the sympathies of the English Church, and "not to forget the poor." With that movement, after much opposition at first, many

indignation, 'Why don't the Bishops do something? What are they paid for?' and turns to discuss the peace question or the test matches, without realising that he has done the Bishops an injustice. For, indeed, the Bishops have done much, poor gentlemen, as the following story shows. Hear, I pray you, the history of the Bishop's move.

"In a wicked and dirty corner of a dirty and wicked seaport, down by the docks, shut off from respectability and the High Street by many a curve of the river, lies a slum where rows of little squalid houses, already crazy before they were finished, stand on a foundation half mud, half sardine tins. Nothing flourishes here but vice, drink, dirt, vermin, rheumatism, and typhoid. And in the middle of all its meanness and sordidness was a mean little mission church, just an oblong room, galvanised iron outside, match-boarding within. Yet was this tiny church, in the days when I first stumbled on it out of the stinking river fog and came to love it, the one spot of light and hope in all that squalid neighbourhood. For here, all Sunday, from the first Eucharist at 7 a.m. to the mission service and after-meeting at 9 p.m., the place was packed for an endless succession of services, guilds, and classes. Here, too, day by day, was fulfilled the Master's command, 'Do this in remembrance of Me.' And if the ornaments and furnishings were poor and tawdry, the statues plaster, the pictures cheap oleographs, the wood-work stained deal, yet the spirit of worship was in the place, and it never lacked the furnishing—rare in many a better-appointed church—of grateful human faces. Here tired mothers sat for a few minutes' respite from the racket of home and children, here girls knelt seeking—and somehow finding—the strength they

of the Bishops moved on. Still there is fear for the Church if the authorities do not cordially welcome, encourage, *and then* wisely guide the efforts made by the Catholic clergy.

needed in a life where respectability and virtue were hard, and bitter hard, and only vice was easy and pleasant. And here, too, boys, rough boys—hardened to all life's wickedness at an age when a Bishop's son has not yet lost the first bloom of boyish innocence—had learnt to turn in on their way to or from work to pray against all the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil, intrenched all around them in the bookmaker's den, the brothel, and the gin palace.

"One Sunday, after the final service, I pushed my way into the tiny vestry to speak to one young fellow who had caught my eye at service. The room was packed with choir and acolytes—pah! how they smelt in the close, stuffy room; rough, dirty fellows all of them, fisher lads and sailors, harsh-voiced and h-less; such as might have assembled in that other room where on the first Easter day at even came Jesus and stood in the midst. I drew out of the lad the information I sought, that he worked on a barge two Sundays out of three, and so on the third he made the most of his time, communicating at 7 a.m., serving at 8, teaching in Sunday school at 9.30, serving again at 11, teaching at 3 and at 4 p.m., serving at Solemn Evensong at 7, and helping at the mission service afterwards. It was his day of rest.

"And making the acquaintance of the lad, I came to know the priest-in-charge too. He, poor fool, had taken as his ideal that discredited fellow Dolling—oh! I forgot; Dolling is dead, and so has come to his own and all men praise him; but the time I write of was just after he had been driven from St. Agatha's, and before he had been allowed to kill himself in Poplar. But, as I said, the poor fool founded himself on Dolling, and so got little enough help. He got little financial help, for the rector of the mother church was known to look with suspicion on his

Much has been said as to "obedience," and the Catholic clergy "not *obeying* their Bishops," and so on. Such sayings, however, require to be examined ; and when men have sometimes talked

ritual. And he got few holidays, for he could not afford to pay a *locum tenens*, and the neighbouring clergy were naturally shy of helping such a fellow. Yet he seemed happy when I last saw him.

"Then, work took me to live at the other end of England, and I heard nothing of the little dockside mission, except vague rumours of episcopal displeasure, distant rumblings of ecclesiastical thunder. Where everything was dull and drab and dirty, the priest-in-charge had ventured to make the House of God bright, and His worship stately. Where all vile smells abounded, he ventured to offer an oblation with sweet incense. Worst of all, to homes where there was no place in which to celebrate with decency, he dared to carry the Blessed Sacrament direct from the altar. So the ecclesiastical thunder rumbled louder and louder, and at last, urged on by titled ladies (*tantæne animis cælestibus iræ ?*), the Bishop moved. First the statues and coloured lamps had to go. Then the incense. Then the lights. Then the vestments. Last of all, the priest-in-charge had to go also. No ! he did not go to Rome. He settled things in a simpler way. A few weeks after leaving the mission he just quietly died. Of course no one suggests that he died of a broken heart. That would be too absurd. Besides, the doctor's certificate distinctly states that he died of pneumonia. Yet some people think that hard work, poor food, bad air, constant worry, and final failure may have had something to do with it. Still it was a triumph of episcopal action.

"And things like that, you know, must be
In every famous victory.

"A little time ago business took me again to that wicked and

“of the duty of the clergy to obey the word of command” as a soldier would his officers, they have forgotten that the comparison is ludicrously beside the mark. “Obedience” is not, in itself,

dirty seaport, and, threading the narrow, squalid streets, I knocked at the old familiar door and asked the caretaker if I could see the priest-in-charge.

“‘Oh, no, sir, he lives out at Woodleigh. But he comes in,’ she hastened to add, ‘by train nearly every day.’

“‘Do you have the daily Eucharist?’ I asked.

“‘Oh, no, sir; but we have one every Sunday, and two on the first Sunday in the month.’

“‘Do the people come well?’

“‘Oh, no, sir; they’re a poor, bad lot about here.’

“Yes, they are indeed a poor, bad lot. Is it all my fancy, or are they a poorer and a worse lot than in old days? I determined to ask a policeman. When he found I had known the old mission we were friends at once. ‘It has never been the same, sir, since the Father left. Where are they all gone? Well, a few to the chapel round the corner, but most of them to the bad. Other churches? No, they didn’t seem to care for other churches, and other churches didn’t seem to care for them.’

“Some to the chapel! God’s blessing on it, dingy little Bethel. There, at any rate, they will find warmth and human fellowship, and hear the name of Jesus. And for the rest, those whom drink and the devil have reclaimed for their own—well! you cannot have everything, and the titled ladies, far off in their drawing-rooms in Mayfair, and their mansions in the shires, all declare it to have been a triumph of episcopal action.

“Yet, as I walked back through the squalor and wretchedness and sin of it all, I wondered if any one except the devil shared their satisfaction.

* * * * *

“Truly ‘My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge.’”

a virtue. The virtue of obedience depends upon *to whom* and *how* it is given. The highest claim to obedience which one creature can have upon another is the claim of the parent on the obedience of the child—of *that* a Bishop's authority is a faint and attenuated image. It is clear, however, that it is not only a child's right, but even its duty, to disobey a parent if the parent requires it to do wrong. Any lawful authority can only be disobeyed with very anxious misgivings perhaps, or at any rate from a very clear sense of the demands of conscience ; but there are times when it must be disobeyed if we are to do right. Ultimately, there is only one that each of us is bound to obey, and that is God. All constituted authority is a kind of shadow of God's power, and as such is to be respected ; but when that authority is used in a manner not consistent with the conditions under which it is established, it is straining its rights in a wrong way, and disobedience may become a duty.

Obedience to Bishops is conditioned by the statements and declarations of the Church. They are not autocrats. They have not unlimited power. They may not decree what they please. If it were otherwise the Reformation would have been impossible. Anglican Bishops are the successors of those who were disobedient to an

authority to which they were pledged. Their disobedience—sad as such things are—was justified because it was necessary. “Disobedience” in their case then, and “disobedience” in cases since then within the Anglican Communion, come under the saying that disobedience to the lesser was obedience to the greater. A fear that cannot be altogether put aside at the present time is the fear of the hierarchy straining their authority so that disobedience to them becomes a sad necessity. It is sometimes said, in answer to this, that such grave cases cannot occur merely in a matter of ritual or in the use of a creed. *That* is surely a mistake. Incense, or Reservation, or advising the faithful laity to “hear Mass,” or refusing to countenance “evening communions,” or wearing the vestments commanded by the Church in the celebration of the Mysteries, are matters which imply very serious principles. If it were not so indeed, they would rarely be attacked; and to obey a Bishop who exerts his authority against these things for the purpose of—to use the words quoted above—“giving a better and fuller expression to the conscience and feelings of the age” is to withstand the violation of a serious principle. A Bishop is to be obeyed, not when he makes himself the mere mouthpiece of public (and often

unbelieving) opinion, but when he speaks in accordance with the principles laid down for his direction, as well as for the direction of the clergy generally, by the Church of England. Those principles include the necessity of being guided by Catholic consent, the necessity of recognising Catholic customs of the Undivided Church. The Prayer Book is not, and was not meant to be, a complete directory in all details, but referred English Churchmen back to the above principles, and emphatically *commands* Catholic ritual at the celebration of the Eucharist.

Every one will feel that it is reasonable and sensible that these principles should be applied in a manner consistent with charity and considerateness. For instance, it is reasonable and sensible that where the use of a Church or a Cathedral has fallen below the requirements of the Prayer Book in the matter of ritual, charity requires that the return to the full principles of the Prayer Book should be made carefully and with consideration. It is a totally different matter, however, if some Cathedral or Church which has not been able fully to obey the Prayer Book should be held up as an example of perfection, whilst places of worship which have been able to carry out entirely the principles of Catholic custom and

ritual observance, by which we are all bound, should be denounced or held up to obloquy. As long as that continues to be the practice of any member of the hierarchy, we cannot dismiss all fear as to the English Church fulfilling her mission. Still more is it a ground of what some of the Bishops would call "distress and alienation" if we are asked to countenance the disparaging of a Catholic Creed under the pressure of ignorance or free-thought or unbelief. Our fears for the English Church only then become groundless when there is no attempt made—in the present state of things—to alter our formularies, when the hierarchy act with fairness, and, if they are obliged from circumstances and from charity to tolerate much which is in accordance with the "Protestant" or "Liberal" ideal, at least do not allow themselves to attack those among the English clergy and laity who are faithful to those Catholic principles on which the true position of the English Church depends.

III

HOPES

If this is the case, then, with all our troubles there are high hopes for the English Church, and through her for Christianity in England. We

shall be freed from the distress of listening to Bishops' charges which sometimes diametrically contradict one another, although they rarely fail to have a "hit" at something that is Catholic and in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Church of England. Catholic Churchmen do not ask indeed for mere toleration; they ask to be allowed, without fault-finding from the authorities, to live, and act, and work in accordance with Catholic principles. In the present state of the Church of England it seems to them—and certainly it seems to the present writer—that there must be very large toleration within the Church for those who follow either the "Protestant" or the "Liberal" ideal.

To a Catholic Churchman they appear to fall very far short of, and in some cases to contradict, the principles of the Church of England. But so long as they find it possible conscientiously to live and act in her, it is not for him to judge them, though he often may be unable to understand their position. Much harm may be done, so it appears to him, by the teaching of many of them. But if Catholic teaching and Catholic work is allowed to go on unimpaired and with generous support and sympathy from the authorities of the Church, so much harm will not be

done as might be. Most things have a good side to them, and there are many things to be said in favour of the Evangelicals or Protestants, or even the "Liberals," who are encamped in the Church of England. If there is no attack by authority on the Holy Scriptures, on the Creeds, on the formularies, on the penitential system, on the Eucharistic worship—then whatever is evil will fall by its own weight.

Persecution is the worst evil of all. It has been truly said "the fatal policy of persecution in the past has brought its own punishment, and the present divisions of Christendom owe their origin to that cause."¹ Man's claim to freedom of thought has been asserted mistakenly, even wilfully. The Church has been taught afresh truths which she really knew but which she overlooked concerning her organisation and its uses. Shall we not frankly accept the lesson, and put away any root of bitterness which remains? The day has passed when any organisation can claim to do God's work by the exercise of mere power. And the attempt to do so has left its heritage of disaster.

Ecclesiastical power will never be revived ; but any lingering desire after it prevents the growth

¹ By Bishop Creighton.

of ecclesiastical influence. God has taught us that He works by influence, not by power. He taught it by His own dealings with man ; He declared it in the Incarnation. But men would not entirely learn God's lesson, and chose their own way instead of His. He has written His condemnation of their error on the record of history. He has put His Church to shame at the bar of human judgment. In the place of that uniformity which she strove to enforce on Christendom, He has afflicted her with discord and schism. Why ? Because unity is undesirable or impossible ? Not so. It was the subject of our Lord's last prayer for His Church ; its restoration is a name which can never be absent from the mind of any one who calls himself by Christ's name. Why, then, I ask again ? Because in times past that uniformity was enforced by carnal means when the Church grasped the weapons of the world ; the hope of the future lies in the entire abandonment of these weapons. The Church will affect society as it shows its capacity to persuade, rebuke, exhort in its Master's name, not as it claims to command. The reunion of Christendom will be possible when Christians have abandoned those prejudices which are the legacy of the days of persecution, and recognise that unity of the

spirit which alone can make controversy profitable. This tolerance is not indifference. It is the exercise of a Christian temper.¹

There must be, then, in the Church of England at the present time faithfulness and firmness as to fundamental truth in her authoritative statements ; there must be a wide tolerance in everything beyond. Whatever is done, we repeat, there ought not to be any tampering with our formularies, nor any further attempts at persecuting or discrediting those whose only fault is a genuine obedience to the Church's commands, and a genuine effort to make her once more not only the Church of the respectable and cultivated, but also the Church of the poor. If a Catholic asks for at least fair play at the hands of authority, he asks for toleration for those who (most mistakenly, as he thinks) put forward ideals which conflict with the Church's teaching. Evil, we repeat, will fall by its own weight, and what is true will prevail, if only the Church by no authoritative act is compromised by any rejection on her part of Catholic principles. And also, in times like ours, those in authority must give up all thought of what has been called "the futility of outward uniformity in ritual." It is

¹ See Bishop Creighton's *Persecution and Toleration*.

only so that the conflict of ideals in the English Church can lead in the long-run to what is good instead of what is evil.

And what a future that Church has before her if she is faithful to her great opportunities!—if she bears her witness distinctly to fundamental Christian truths, but does not forget the large margins that must be left for the working of individual opinion beyond those truths, and the great necessity for the use of every means by which souls may be helped, for the abandonment of the stiffness and the chill of the past; the necessity of developing more and more her supernatural powers and teaching her children to be loyal to the unseen.

If by God's mercy this is so, how vast is the field of work that lies before her! And at the present moment, with all her ills, the strength of her real greatness is to be found in the power which she still has, and has more than ever, in helping young lives to see and love the greatness of duty, the beauty of holiness, the sweetness of self-sacrifice, the hatefulness of sin, and the happiness and blessedness of guiding human conduct by the love and for the glory of God.

A Church which has this power still in her, which has been preserved, through many vicissitudes,

from unfaithfulness to her Master, is a Church in which men may well live and for which they may be content to die.

“If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.” “O pray for the peace of Jerusalem ; they shall prosper that love thee.”

APPENDICES



APPENDIX A

I

THE steady effort to undermine—"to sap and mine"—from within—the supernatural structure of the Church is the most alarming fact of the time.

(1) Every Catholic Churchman believes that many Nonconformists are exceedingly good people; that—often through no fault of their own, but from varying circumstances—they are "under loss," that they have not a divinely appointed ministry or true sacraments; but that—where they have used the light and strength given them in baptism, and where they have honestly and simply served God—"the Judge of all the earth shall do right" and certainly helps and loves those who "diligently seek Him."

(2) Every Catholic Churchman believes that kindliness, courtesy, lovingkindness, tenderness, brotherly affection, is due to *all* God's creatures, and, above all, to those who, however inadequately, "name the name of Christ."

(3) Every Catholic Churchman believes that *any* good done by *any* man is from God, and rejoices in it. But he also believes that he is bound to do his best to “banish and drive away false doctrines and contrary to God’s Word”; and consequently, if he can lead Nonconformists into the fulness of light, he does; and if he cannot, he rejoices at all the good that is in them as from God.

(4) Every Catholic Churchman deplores the *sectarian spirit* in many English Nonconformists; shown by (a) their violent political animus, owing to which the Chapels have, as we know, often become political rendezvous for advancement of Radical interests supposed to be hostile to the Church; (b) their hollow and factitious assaults on Education arrangements, which give, not full, but modified *justice* to the Church; and their willingness to sacrifice the religion of the children of England to their own rancour against the Church; their desire, not for *justice*, but for the triumph of the modern form of unbelief or half-belief called “*unsectarian religion*”—lest the teaching of the Christian Church should prevail.

(5) The Catholic Churchman loves and feels kindly towards the devout and pious Nonconformist. He believes him to be, unconsciously, unfaithful to the mind of Christ as to the organisation and power and teaching of His Church, but to be “of the truth.” He *cannot*, without *violating principle*—which no Christian has a right to do—mix up his religion with *partisan politics*, or *favour injustice and low pretences* by way of leading to peace and union.

II

Now the anxiety of the Catholic Churchman at present arises from this :—

(1) There is *from within* an assault, which to him appears to be dishonest (though doubtless unintentionally so), on the Divine constitution of the Church.

(2) In consequence, there appears to be an assault *from within* on the Catholic Faith itself.

(3) There appears to be an effort to carry this on by attacks—more or less open—or by what has been called “pinpricks,” on the part of some of the hierarchy, on Catholic Churchmen who stand by faith and order; or by a genial encouragement of those who oppose both.

When those who should be leaders and should defend act so as to betray the Church, “there is,” as Mr. Keble, notwithstanding his almost exaggerated respect for Bishops, said, “a time to speak out.”

Whatever veneration we may have for the Episcopal Office, whatever liking or respect for any individual man who fills that office—it is sheer unreality, and indeed *cant*, to pretend that some of our Bishops are true to the ideal and teaching of the English Church; that they are not (however unintentionally) injuring and undermining the Faith and the Church which they are set to guard.

“Your true Englishman,” says Mr. Keble, “would rather continue in sickness than be cured under false pretences.”

It is that kind of cure which is offered to us in some Episcopal charges.

As an example take the teaching of a recent charge. The Bishop who writes is a man much to be esteemed, and, as a man, the present writer holds him in high regard. He teaches that "the minister of Christ ought not to be bound to any political parties in the State." Then not long ago in *The Times* he writes a partisan tirade about Chinese Labour on the Rand—a subject on which he is entirely ignorant—and endorses the various political falsehoods which one party in the State have found it necessary to invent on the subject for use on the hustings, and which, under electioneering exigencies, Englishmen are wont to excuse with an easy good-nature because they allow for partisan necessities in politics, but which—however Nonconformist Radicals may re-echo them—they do not expect to hear re-echoed by a Christian Bishop. Men who *do* understand the subject, and who are quite as sincere and earnest, but not such thoroughgoing political partisans as the Bishop, resent this. And, indeed, it lowers the whole ideal of the Anglican Episcopate. This may be seen from the following answer which the Bishop's letter has drawn from one who knows something of the subject and would not be violently opposed to many political principles held by the Bishop.

“ CHINESE LABOUR ON THE RAND

“ *To the Editor of ‘ The Times ’*

“ Sir,—I have just read the Bishop of Hereford's letter in your issue of the 5th inst., and as one who has been down the mines on the Rand and has had an

opportunity of observing the conditions of labour therein, I take leave to differ entirely from the views he expresses in his letter, from beginning to end.

“ I admit, of course, that every man is free to hold and express his opinions upon any subject ; but what I do protest against is that the right reverend prelate should seek to dissociate himself from any political bias.

“ Every one knows perfectly well that he has strong political tendencies ; every one remembers how stanchly he has supported his party in any question that has arisen ; and it has been apparent that he sees everything through party spectacles, and takes every advantage, as a good Liberal should, to utilise any stick which may come to hand in order to chastise a wicked Tory Prime Minister and a debased Tory Government. Let him, however, be honest about it ; let him remember it is scarcely consistent with the attitude he wishes to assume to make such an attack upon the Prime Minister ; to drag in the Primrose League ; and that when he speaks of ‘ injury done to the working-class population by closing the door of access to the mining industries of the Transvaal,’ not only does this not possess the merit of being true, but it is also clearly a thinly-veiled attempt at what is commonly called play to the gallery.

“ We all know that the indignation of the British public is easily and justly aroused should there be any suspicion, or shadow of suspicion, of a state of servitude in any of our Colonies ; and, although the wisdom of stirring up this indignation for purely party gain may be questioned, it is undoubtedly a fact that the Liberal party, including the Bishop of Hereford, have been quick

to recognise the advantage of an anti-slavery cry, and have played it for all it is worth. Surely, then, it is worse than idle, it is sheer folly, for the reverend gentleman to say, ‘ This is no mere question of party politics.’ May I ask him what about the coming election ? Is it too much to assume that it will loom largely upon some Liberal platforms ? Even the Bishop’s letter may have its use then ! and then ! and then ! we shall hear no more upon the subject, either here or in South Africa.

“ The political conscience is quickly roused, but it is astonishing how rapidly it calms down again when it is no longer required for party purposes.

“ There is only one other point I should like to make. We are all ready to assume that the Bishop is a God-fearing man, that he has a humane heart, and a power of discriminating between what is right and what is wrong ; but I for one cannot permit him to claim a monopoly of these possessions. Lord Selborne, for instance, upon whom a heavy weight of responsibility rests at the present time, is a man whose character is beyond dispute. Sir Arthur Lawley, whose rectitude of purpose is well known, and so on away down the whole list of the mine managers themselves, many of them born and bred in Great Britian, splendid fellows ! who have gone out to do the work of the Empire and who are as incapable of associating themselves with ‘ a system so abhorrent to all our notions of freedom, humanity, good government, and decent social conditions ’ as the reverend gentleman himself, or any other prelate in the land.

“ Are all these men living on the spot, fully alive to all the difficulties and dangers of a mining community,

also 'bound down by some cruel fate to the defence of such a system'—are they all wrong? And is the Bishop of Hereford, who obviously can know nothing whatever about the matter, right?

“Your obedient servant,

“ALWYNE COMPTON.”

“DIEPPE, *September 7.*”

Here is a warning of the danger to the cause of the Christian Church from “political” Bishops, and against the dangerous temptation to which their mode of appointment exposes our Bishops of “playing to the gallery.”

Again, we find from the same charge, not only that we are to be, as we ought to be, kind, courteous, conciliatory to all men, but that we are to adopt “a generous policy of peace, *concession* and good-will.” Then follows a veiled partisan attack on the educational policy of the party opposed to that former Government by which the Bishop was promoted to the Bench. Then we learn what “concession” means in our relation to Nonconformists. “Brotherhood” is to be shown in a way which is a real abandonment of *principle*. We are to learn this from Canons of Westminster, who, it appears, are in “the midst of the strong arterial currents of our national aspirations, and in their independent position can speak from the heart with unfettered freedom, and with no thought of any cause except the highest”; *i.e.*, in his exalted language, they can defy their Bishop if he wishes them to obey the Prayer Book, as Westminster is a “Peculiar”—without legal pains and penalties—and not a poor parish where men are working among the poor,

but a stately Minster whose officers have little to do with the suffering "lower classes," but can play to a varied gallery with a ring as *academic* as in either university. Sitting at their feet, as directed by the Bishop, we learn that the threefold ministry can be traced to Apostolic times, but that it is not absolutely coeval with the Church ; that it cannot claim to belong to the *esse* of the Church. All that is really obligatory appears to be "a ministry of discipline and teaching," two sacraments, "a Bible" (we may add, expurgated by the Higher Criticism), "and perhaps the Lord's Day." "For the rest," we are told, "He left His Church to the guidance of the Holy Ghost," and there it is implied that everything that has happened in the Church is from this "*guidance*"—which looks uncommonly like making God the author of confusion. The practical result is that—by a curious piece of casuistry—the Church of England of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries being held up as a model, we are to admit all the sects to communion. Then another Westminster Canon (now Dean) is quoted to prove that our Bishops now are perpetually tempted to take refuge in *practical sectarianism* if they do not acknowledge Methodist ministers—even if "irregular"—rightly ministers of the Catholic Church, and Methodist sacraments as true sacraments, for reasons some of them strange indeed.

On this it may be observed—if true—the Church of England is *all wrong*. We have been, so to speak, decoyed into the ministry of the Church on false pretences ; her most solemn assertions turn out to be false. Bishops are not necessary ; the priesthood is unreal. Many,

the largest number, of her teachings can be dispensed with. The narrowest and most bigoted Roman could not say worse of us than some of our State-appointed Bishops and Dignitaries.

It is clear, we may repeat, that if Episcopacy is not *necessary*, it is *wrong*. It is expensive. It divides us from Nonconformist bodies, which, it turns out, are as much Churches as the Church of England ; for the Church of England *forbids* any to minister who are not episcopally ordained—and if all this be true she thereby commits a sin. Nay, our people are worse off than Nonconformists, for the same authority tells us that our own children are indeed not to be admitted to communion without having received the “ precious blessing ” of confirmation, but Nonconformists are to be admitted, not “ if they are willing and desirous to receive it, but “ *perhaps* long years of faithful Christian life have assisted in already maturing the Christian character.” This is quoted in the charge referred to, from the present Archbishop of York—one of the authors of the Letter to Pope Leo XIII. So that we learn that *growing old* will do instead of the gift of the Holy Ghost in confirmation.

All this we may truly call “ sapping and mining ” from within the doctrine and discipline of the English Church ; open and distinct attack is better.

If the Church of England be all wrong, let it be honestly stated, but let it not be emptied of its meaning and witness by its own officers, so as to become a venerable State institution for keeping alive religious sentiment, but unable to state any doctrine as true, or any channel of grace as necessary.

All believing Churchmen, in face of such dangers, must resist any tampering with the Church's formularies, and above all, at such a time, any misplacement or mutilation of the Catholic Creeds.

APPENDIX B

The following extract from the Annual Report of a District Union of the English Church Union puts in vivid light some of the anxieties of loyal Churchmen at the present time :—

“ The general outlook is by no means free from anxiety.

“ The movement for the democratisation of the Church, under the specious plea of Church Reform, has failed, indeed, to secure support for its more revolutionary objects. But there is great danger lest the so-called ‘ Representative Church Council ’ should overshadow the independence of the two provincial Synods. A mixed assembly of clergy and laity, without precedent in the history of the Church of God, is open to grave suspicion, and may yet prove to be an instrument of serious disaster.

“ Yielding to the clamour of a Protestant faction which would stay the progress of the Oxford Movement—a faction which will by no means be satiated with the stamping out of what are called ‘ extreme practices ’—the Government last year appointed a Royal Commission ‘ to inquire into the alleged prevalence of breaches, or neglect of the law ’ in the conduct of Divine Service. Should the recommendation of the Commission lead to

an attempt on the part of Parliament to regulate the conduct of Divine Worship, or on the part of the Bishops to enforce the discredited decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, Members of the Union will know how to defend the rights and liberties of the Church as they have defended them in the past.

“ Another cause of anxiety is the action which has been taken by a majority of the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury in the matter of the Athanasian Creed. It is true that a ‘ final judgment ’ has been deferred until after the Lambeth Conference in 1906. But what is written is written, and nothing can undo the mischief which has been caused by the Resolutions of May 11.

“ In the second Resolution the Bishops actually assert ‘ that in their *prima facie* meaning . . . those clauses ’ —*i.e.* the warning clauses—‘ convey a more unqualified statement than Scripture warrants, and one which is not consonant with the language of the greatest teachers of the Church.’ That is the opinion of a majority—happily only a majority, but still a majority—of the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury. Such, however, is not the opinion of the Bishops of the rest of ‘ the whole Catholic Church of Christ,’ from whose ‘ established doctrine ’ the Preface to the Prayer Book deprecates any departure. From the East comes the official statement that the Athanasian Creed is ‘ consonant with the doctrine of the Orthodox Church.’ From Russia comes the affirmation that the Athanasian Creed is ‘ received by the whole Catholic Church.’ In the Latin Church the Creed is publicly recited at Prime twenty-one times in the year. From Cambridge, however, comes the

voice of the Dean of Westminster : ' I can no longer say, nor require others to say, clauses which I believe to be false.' And yet the Dean and the Bishops who, in more guarded language, sympathised with him have signed the 8th Article of Religion, which declares that the Athanasian Creed ' ought thoroughly to be received and believed : for ' it ' may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.' Catholics have been accused of disloyalty to the Church of England in the past merely because they have restored, under the plain letter of the rubrics, much which had dropped out of use, and have emphasised doctrines which, if ignored in the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries, were commonly taught by the Caroline divines. Disloyalty ! What term, then, remains to describe the position of a dignitary who now declares that to be ' false ' which once he declared to be true, and yet retains his eminent position in the Church ? or what gentler term is to be applied to Bishops who practically assert the same thing in more diluted language ?

" The third Resolution of the Bishops suggests that ' each Diocesan Bishop should be authorised, upon application from an incumbent, with sufficient reason shown, to dispense with the public recitation of the *Quicumque Vult*, either on all or some of the days when the rubric orders its recitation.' So, then, it is the Bishops, not ' the Ritualists,' who are bringing axes and hammers to smash that sacrosanct idol of ' the Establishment '—uniformity ! What, it may be asked, is the value of the vaunted Act of Uniformity if the Bishops are to dispense with its obligation ' upon application

from an incumbent' ? If the Prayer Book is to be tampered with in the interest of the semi-believer in the pew, loyal sons of the Church will demand further alteration in order to vindicate, more clearly and more emphatically, the Catholicity of the Church of England. But the idea of dispensation is preposterous. It is not merely a matter of the legal aspect of Establishment, though a great deal might be said on that score. But, from the canonical point of view, it is incompetent to any one Bishop to dispense from obligations which have been imposed upon the two Provinces by synodical action. By such action the *jus liturgicum* of individual Bishops has been suspended, and will remain suspended until the synodical authority restores to each Bishop the independent exercise of his *jus liturgicum*. If it is intended to take such synodical action, are the Bishops really prepared to fling the Prayer Book on the table of the House of Commons for necessary amendment ? ”

APPENDIX C

The following are some extracts from a letter on “Eucharistic Worship,” addressed by permission, some years ago, to the late Dean of Lincoln :—

“Now, my dear friend, as to ‘non-communicating attendance’—a barbarous title for ‘hearing Mass.’

“Whatever be the *name* employed, what is *meant* is clear enough. It is looked upon by some as being wrong and objectionable, and out of tune with the teaching of

the English Church, that Christians should ever be present at the celebration of the Holy Communion except on such occasions as they actually make their communion ; whilst to others it appears a devout practice, much to be encouraged, and very necessary for these times.

“ The objections made to Eucharistic Worship are, I confess, to me among the most unintelligible of all objections to Catholic practices. Of course, the deep meaning and real comfort and joy of such a practice is not reached if men do not hold the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice ; but I should have thought that, even to those who unhappily embrace any one of the various lower views of sacramental doctrine, such a practice would have *some* meaning, and bring some real comfort.

“ It is difficult to discover why men should denounce with so much energy as they do anything which seems to us so evidently religious and consoling. I cannot but think that their denunciations really arise from a strong antecedent prejudice, and not from well-weighed consideration of facts as they are. In any case, it is not waste of time if one endeavours to make clear why to encourage this is not an evil, but something not unworthy of a priest of the Church of England, and indeed of any serious servant of Christ.

“ We do well to remember that the great thought of *worship* has not been as well kept before us in England in these later days as it should have been. Perhaps I may remind you of the words of our dear friend Liddon on the subject. You will remember, of course, *his* view

on the whole question before us ; and, by the way, I remember well how, speaking of the strange objections raised to this practice, he said to me—I think I can quote his very words—‘ Surely, dear friend, this is at least a question of liberty for the faithful laity ; and, in any case, they should not be precluded from presence at the great service if they please.’ But this by the way. His words on *worship* I venture to quote, because they are so entirely *ad rem*.

“ ‘ Adoration must be the basis, so to put it, of true thanksgiving and praise and prayer ; it is the fitting acknowledgment of our real relations with God which should precede them. It sometimes does, indeed, imply so paralysing a sense of this our nothingness before God, that left to itself it would make praise, thanksgiving, and prayer impossible. But here, as we lie in the dust, the one Mediator between God and man bids us take heart as He utters that most consoling sentence, “ No man cometh unto the Father but by Me.” He bids us, as it were, take His hand, and thus with Him, and by Him, not merely adore God, but praise Him, thank Him, pray to Him. Thanksgiving is welcomed when it is offered in union with Him who is the one Thank-offering of Christendom, no less than its one Propitiatory Sacrifice, *especially when it is offered in that most solemn of all services that are possible on earth, in which we venture most daringly into the very presence-chamber of the heavens, because leaning on a strength and covered with a righteousness which most assuredly is not our own.* But until our Lord and Saviour thus takes us by the hand, adoration, the most distant and the most lowly, of the Infinite

and Almighty God is all that is, seriously speaking, open to such as we are. And when He has thus taken us by the hand, and has taught us to thank and praise and pray to God in virtue of the strength which flows in union with Himself, adoration still remains ; it remains as the expression of our original and permanent relation as creatures at the footstool of the Creator. " O come, let us prostrate ourselves, let us bend low, let us fall before the Lord our Maker," is addressed to all human souls for all time.' ¹

" We have here, I think, my dear friend, a masterly and exact statement, such as would naturally be expected from so careful a thinker and so eloquent a speaker as Dr. Liddon was, of the meaning of worship and its relation to those other attitudes of the soul towards God described as thanksgiving, praise, and prayer. And here, also, we are reminded very rightly that it is in the Eucharist, in the Mass, above all things, that all these efforts of the soul find their highest opportunity, but especially the effort of worship. This thought has, of course, been greatly obscured by the heresies of the sixteenth century, which—although they could not move her from her proper witness to the faith—have left a stain here and there on the teaching and practice of the Church of England, and seem still to cloud the minds of some of her members who have no clear grasp of sacramental truth.

" But there is something besides this which has probably in later days hindered in this country a proper

¹ Dr. Liddon, sermon on " Adoration," preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, August 15, 1886.

use of the mysteries as the great opportunity for worship, as the 'Church's prayer-meeting,' and as the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. It is probably this, that as our days are busy ones and what are called 'practical,' and as we are in some respects a somewhat materialistic people, there has been more and more of an inclination to remember our duty to our neighbour rather than our duty to God, and to look upon worship and thanksgiving as somewhat idealistic and sentimental, whereas they are in fact *imperative duties*. We are rather inclined to look upon the Church as an institution for doing people good, and especially social good. Every one, of course, acknowledges that the Church has social duties which she must be careful to perform ; but as men are mortal beings, and their most solemn relation is their relation to God, *the* most important duty of the Church is to offer to God the worship which is His due from His creatures. The first duties of the Church are to men's souls in their relation to God. Her later duty—though not an unimportant one—is the extension of a philanthropy which will affect their bodily needs and their social condition. If we are to live at all as men should live who are immortal, and who have a God, we have first of all to learn the great duty of worship.

“ One great weakness, so it seems to me, in the imperfect statements of truth and duty which have always marked Puritan teaching, and are to be seen in the utterances of 'Evangelicals' now, and of 'Liberals,' is the quite inadequate sense they have always revealed of the necessity of objective worship. From this there has come a certain weakness and absence of fibre or

a certain intellectual self-sufficiency. There has been a tendency to rest rather on words than on things, on phrases more than on facts ; a tendency to emotional religion, and introspective self-analysis, or to mere argumentation, which so often makes their system inefficient, or even destructive to the young. Their questions have ever been—quite proper questions in their proper place, of course—‘ What must I do to be saved ? ’ or ‘ How can I act without the supernatural ? ’ The favourite question of more practical and vigorous Catholic theology has been—‘ What can I do to glorify God ? ’ God, not self, the Church has ever been teaching, is to be the centre of the life. Worship has, therefore, been a watchword of the Catholic Faith. In it the soul learns to forget itself, and not to think so much of what it can get from God, as of what it can give Him ; and, knowing its own utter insufficiency in approaching Him apart from the one Mediator, finds that the truest and noblest opportunity for worship is that great service which the Lord Himself appointed, and in which, in a special manner, He places Himself at the disposal of His creatures, so that ‘ by Him and with Him, in unity with the Holy Ghost,’ they may be able not altogether inadequately to laud and magnify God’s glorious Name.

“ I think it is impossible for any thoughtful person to deny that the Eucharistic Service is *the* service of the Church, and gives the opportunity for the highest act of worship that the creature can offer to the Creator on earth. This is evident from the place it took in the mind of the Early Church. It is the one service of

which we read in the opening days of Christianity. It is still more evident when we remember that it is the one service appointed by the Lord Himself. The wretched habits into which Christians have gradually drifted in these later days, in allowing their religious exercises to be confined, for the most part, to taking part in Matins and Evensong, and to attendance at a sermon, does not, the moment we think of it, allow any defence. Our Lord did not say, 'Say Matins, or say Evensong, or listen to a sermon in remembrance (or commemoration) of Me'; but He did say, 'This do (or, this offer) in remembrance (or, in commemoration) of Me.' And, indeed, the constant habits of closing almost every prayer in the Name or through the merits of Jesus Christ, which we have all learnt from the Church, our Mother, would naturally lead us to *expect*, I think, that those lesser memorials or reminders of the merits of His Passion would point towards some more solemn manner, in which the memorial or reminder should be made not in word only, but in act. In fact, the closing phrases of our every prayer would lead us to look for our great Eucharistic Service.

"But now the *crux* of the question comes in, and some persons condemn in very severe terms the attendance of those who do not at the time make their communions. In fact, 'Eucharistic Worship,' or 'hearing Mass,' or 'non-communicating attendance' (to use that absurd modern phrase)—by whatever name men describe the presence of those Christians who *at the time* do not communicate—is censured as if it were contrary to Catholic usage, and as if the practice of it were an act of disloyalty

especially to the Church of England, and the encouragement of it an exhibition of evil ‘sacerdotalism.’

“As I believe that attendance at Eucharistic Worship is a distinct duty, which at certain times every instructed Christian ought to discharge, and the present neglect of it a most melancholy departure from duty, and injurious to the spiritual life, you will allow me, my dear friend, shortly to examine some of the objections which are made to it.

“1. And, first, I would observe that it would seem a very strange thing, if you come to think of it, that our Lord should institute one service for His Church, that He should call even little children, as our Church teaches us, to come to Him by baptism, and to be made ‘members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven,’ and that these children of the Divine family should be excluded from joining in the worship which He appointed for that family. It is not merely a strange thing, it is an impossible thing. So strongly does the Church seem to have felt this that, as you know, for a time there was infant communion; but gradually it seemed to be felt—one cannot doubt, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit—that the close personal act of communion might be delayed with advantage until a time when the soul was more fully alive to its personal responsibilities, whilst a share in the great act of worship of the Church might be taken by those who, being baptized, were not yet admitted to the full privilege of Communion.

“The fact is—and one cannot help feeling it as one reads the history of the Church—there are two aspects to the use of the Holy Mysteries. On the one hand,

they are for a 'perpetual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ and of the benefits which we receive thereby.' We are ourselves reminded of the love of our Lord in dying and rising for us, and, what is more important, we commemorate and show forth before God, and—if I may so say—*remind* Him of, that unspeakable gift. And when the Church does so, her baptized children, being members of the one body, take their part in the great act, and plead the merits of the sacrifice offered on the cross. On the other hand, it is *the* great opportunity for each soul that is communicating to *receive* the Body and Blood of the Lord for the 'strengthening and refreshing' of the soul. Doubtless there have been times in the Church when so much attention has been given to one aspect of the Holy Mysteries that the other aspect has been unduly lost sight of. Apparently, before the Reformation of the sixteenth century, there was more attention paid to 'hearing Mass' than to making communions.¹ Almost the reverse was to be noted as the state of things some twenty or thirty years ago. I say *almost* the reverse, for, although the duty of Communion was admitted, Christians so widely neglected attendance at the Eucharistic Service, that—as you and I very well remember, and as is notorious—the habit of communicating was very widely neglected also.

"2. For, whilst it would appear obvious that every baptized member of the family of God should attend

¹ I am informed by a thoughtful writer that this has been somewhat exaggerated. [There is no harm now in stating that this "thoughtful writer" was the late Dr. Bright.]

the Eucharistic Service even before the time comes when the intimate blessing of Communion is permitted, so it has proved to be a fact—of which there is plenty of indisputable evidence all round us, of which you and I have often had plenty of evidence before our eyes—that it is just where the duty of Eucharistic Worship is encouraged that the duty and blessing of communicating is most widely felt. Strangely enough, one of the favourite objections of those who oppose this Catholic custom is that there is a danger of putting attendance at the Eucharistic Service *in the place* of making one's Communion. I have already admitted, my dear friend, that there are plenty of dangers everywhere for fallen man, and that there is nothing so good or sacred but that it may be abused or misused. If any one considers that attendance at the Eucharistic Service without communicating is precisely the same blessing as Communion, and absolves them from the duty of making their Communion at proper times, of course this is wrong.

“But the objection is really devoid of any weight ; it is purely unpractical. Facts knock it to pieces. As I have said, and as everybody knows, in our own days, when Eucharistic Worship was neglected, Communion were neglected ; and since Eucharistic Worship has, by God's mercy, been revived in the Church, the number of communicants has enormously increased. It has been urged that before the Reformation men attended Mass and did not make their communions, and that may happen again. If it was so—and to what extent it was so it is difficult to say ; rather wild statements are made sometimes about ‘ mediæval corruptions,’ and the

iniquities of the 'Dark Ages,' which on closer inspection shrink considerably ;—but granted it was so ; well, the thing *might* happen again, which is another way of saying that *evils* recur among fallen men unless we are watchful and diligent and keep near to God ; but it is hardly a sound argument, I think, to urge that you are to neglect one duty because, while fulfilling it, you may neglect another. If this argument is to be made operative, then—as far as the evidence before us goes—it would take us back to the times which we have personally known and which I have referred to, when the one duty was wholly neglected and the other *also* to a very great degree.

“ 3. Those who oppose attendance at the Eucharistic Service will not deny this, that it is clearly a part of Christian liberty for a devout Christian to regulate the times and number of his Communion according to what he has conscientious reason to believe is best for his own soul, and most for the glory of God. The very persons who object to Eucharistic Worship have been the foremost to find fault with frequent Communion. In so high and solemn a thing as Communion it is surely right to be careful. For the young especially most persons would feel that the wise plan in order to secure not so much *frequent* Communion as *good* Communion, is to increase their Communion carefully and by degrees. No one would advise every one *always* to communicate, whether they felt that it was best for them to do so or not, whenever they happened to be within reach of the service of Holy Communion.

“ Now imagine a devout young fellow who is trying

to serve God, and who is a regular communicant, but who, for very proper reasons of humility and carefulness which all religious persons would approve, communicates, say, once a month or once a fortnight ; is he to be told that, as a Christian duty, and to avoid the ‘ dangers of popery,’ he is under a religious obligation on the intervening Sundays or week-days when the Holy Communion is celebrated to lie in his bed, or go out for a walk, or converse with his companions, or gossip with his neighbours, but—whatever he does—to beware of being in church, and on his knees and joining in the prayers, when the Christian Church is commemorating the Passion of the Lord ? My dear friend, the thing is monstrous ; it is an infringement of Christian liberty, even if it were not an iniquitous checking of devout habits. The question of Christian people staying to be present throughout the Communion Service is *not* a question between communicating and not communicating, but it is a question between spending some time in meditating upon, giving thanks for, and commemorating before God, the Passion of our Lord, *and* deliberately departing from God’s house in the middle of *the* service of Christ’s appointment, and going to some ordinary secular occupation.

“ 4. There is one very odd notion apparently hanging about the minds of many who discountenance the duty of Eucharistic Worship, which I think they certainly ought to guard against. They practically act as if, when you are in church at the Communion Service, *though not at that moment communicating*, you are out of communion with our Lord. This is, of course, utterly untrue.

As I have said, it may be, and often is, from the truest devotion and high and wise religious motives that persons do not communicate on any particular occasion. They are, of course, in communion with our Lord ; but the very love and devotion and desire to please Him which restrain them from making their Communion, except in accordance with some wise and regulated plan of their devotional life, would also lead them to be present and join in the Eucharistic Service when for such proper reasons, and exercising their Christian liberty, they are not communicating.

“ Then again. Speaking in a *positive* direction, surely natural piety would lead us to suppose that the right thing for good Christians is to have the Lord’s own service on the Lord’s own day, while reverence and humility could not fail to lead many *not* to communicate always. The only way out of this is the Church’s way for centuries—neglected, alas ! among us in cold and dead times, revived again now by the mercy of God—viz. the Eucharistic Service always as *the* service of the Lord’s day, and Communion made by each Christian according to his or her individual needs and sense of duty.

“ But further, wherever there can be the early celebration, and later the high celebration, or more dignified service, what an immense spiritual benefit, to speak of nothing else, must accrue to many ! Take the case of communicants who, in the early morning, have made their Communions. Surely it is something for them, with the sense of nearness of our Lord so deeply felt as it would be, then to join in the Church’s praise and

thanksgiving, and realise more and more the life, the corporate life, of the whole Body of the Church. The Communion, which is the highest privilege, *and* the Eucharistic Sacrifice, seem to me to meet two longings in the soul—the longing for intimate intercourse, and the longing for worship.

“ And further, however much and rightly the Church may have set her face against abuses of the past, wherein the holy sacrifice became a real opportunity for profanation, from the formality or the sin of men, certainly, if prayer and intercourse with God be a daily privilege and a daily duty, surely then for the Church as a body there is need—when it may be so—of the Daily Sacrifice. And to many it is a blessed thing to associate themselves then with the one Sacrifice, even though they may judge it best and most reverent in their own cases to refrain from Communion at that special time. Surely no devout person can doubt, unless they are partially blinded by a prejudice, that for a quiet half-hour on an ordinary morning it is good and helpful, and for God’s glory, for an earnest man to be on his knees in church, thinking of, and thanking God for, and commemorating, and pleading, the Passion in the Eucharistic Service of the Church.

“ Again, I repeat, if you consider that the Church is the family of God ; that all who are baptized are God’s children ; that Christ is the great Elder Brother and the one Mediator ; that to plead His Passion is everything ; that this, the only service He ever appointed, is ‘ the family prayers ’ of the Church ;—is there not, my dear friend, something positively grotesque in the

notion that the children of the family are not to come to 'family prayers'? These are broad considerations, but they bring before us the common sense of the question. It is impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that the Catholic Church is the home of common sense. When one meditates seriously upon things, however much one understands and allows for the various revolts of Protestantism, it is impossible to close one's eyes to the truth that departure from Catholic custom and Catholic teaching is narrowing and unreal and untrue to common sense. Puritanism was so 'spiritual' and so indignant at what is called 'error' that the multitudes were left out of account, and its methods became only practically useful for elect Pharisees. The Catholic Church, on the contrary, runs risks, I dare say, makes great ventures certainly, but at least she is Catholic. Our own part of that great Communion, however much she has suffered by the clouds and fogs of Protestantism, just as the Latin part has suffered by the clouds and fogs of Romanism, has still been true to the Catholic spirit of liberty. We have our great service appointed by our Lord; in the inner *penetralia* of its deeper meaning Christ's people make their Communion; in the fulness and power of its majestic expression of the relation of man to God through the presentation before God to the effectual commemoration of the unbounded merits of His Divine Son, our Elder Brother—it is *the* service, the only service, the prevailing service which any serious Christian would care to offer when he recognises the true relation between earth and heaven. There are three classes of persons who—following the example

of the early Church, and again following the teaching of religious common sense—may well be excluded from such a service : (1) The unbaptized (they are not in the family, and they have no right to come to ‘ family prayers ’) ; (2) the excommunicate (they, though in the family, have deliberately given up its privileges) ; (3) the demoniacs, those who have abandoned themselves to the powers of evil. For the rest, it seems to me to be simple common sense that the children of the family should be permitted to appear at ‘ family prayers ’ if they please.

“ Do these good people, who denounce what they call ‘ non-communicating attendance,’ propose that we should return to the severe penitential discipline of the early Church ? I presume not. Well, then, they accept the principle of liberty of the English Church. They assume that, according to the practice of the English Church, and the ‘ principles of the Reformation,’ the stress of responsibility is laid upon individual conscience more and more, and less upon the Church and upon the priesthood. Are they going to be liberal with one hand and narrow with another ? Are they not, by their opposition to ‘ non-communicating attendance,’ practically asserting the Church’s right to assume that, unless at a particular service a Christian is prepared to communicate, he is to be considered as *de facto* a heathen, or excommunicate, and unfit to join in the Church’s great service, and that when Christian people are saying holy prayers, and Christian ministers doing holy acts in commemoration of the love and merits of the Redeemer, they are so unworthy as to be unfit to

join their prayers with the prayers of the Church, or to associate themselves in faith and love with her acts as performed by her ministers? The thing, I think, is monstrous. It is indefensible. People ought to be consistent. You have not the right, I submit, to turn Christian people out when Christian prayers are being said, and Christian acts done, because at that moment—though presumably in communion with their Lord—for reasons of real devotion, they do not make use of their highest privileges, or because—submitting to the rules of the Church—being not confirmed they are not yet eligible to take their part in the highest blessing of all. I submit it is their duty, in accordance with the principle of the Lord's teaching, to 'do what they can.' If it is not so, Christianity and Christian practice seem to me to be narrower than the teaching and the spirit of men. But more, as I have before implied, they are losing the opportunity of helping the young—who are baptized children of God, but not yet confirmed—to be trained in the great religious duty of *objective* worship.

“ 1. Well, then, the Church of England contemplates the attendance of her people at Holy Communion as she does at no other service. Why? At no other service are *public notices* ordered to be given. As to Matins and Evensong, they, though adapted for the use of the people, are to be said 'either privately or publicly.' That is not the case with Holy Communion. *It is the one service at which the Church of England invariably contemplates the presence of the congregation.*

“ 2. Now, it is evident that in every assembly of

Christians there must be many who cannot *communicate*. There are the unconfirmed. There are those who for devout reasons are right in not communicating at *every* opportunity. Do opponents say that baptized children who are unconfirmed may not be present? The Church of England distinctly teaches godparents that children are to 'hear sermons'; and she has appointed no preaching of sermons except *in* the Celebration Service. It is clear that she contemplates the presence of baptized but unconfirmed children, who therefore cannot, according to her rules, communicate; and of those—for she leaves her children *free*—who may not wish to communicate at any given celebration.

"3. For not the smallest hint does the Prayer Book give that any one is to 'go out in the middle of the service.' She *requires* her children to communicate at the least three times in the year, and Easter is to be one of these times. If she only *requires* this, however, she may wish for more; if she requires her children to be present—for, as we have seen, children, if her commands are fulfilled, must be there—if she gives no hint of leaving in the middle of the service, one thing is clear, the Church of England contemplates 'non-communicating attendance,' or, as Catholics would say, 'hearing Mass.'

"4. This is still more clear when we remember that she considers 'communicants' to be a special division. *They* are to be 'conveniently placed.' She gives no permission to any one to leave before the celebration of the mysteries, and she does *not* require all—as I have shown—to *communicate*. So far, we see, the teaching

of the Church of England is 'non-communicating attendance,' or 'hearing Mass.'

"5. The service suits *both* classes—those who then and there are to *communicate*, and those who are engaged in Eucharistic Worship. For example, the Prayer of Humble Access suits *any* Communion—for a faithful Christian as well as the Communion made at that moment. The Prayer of Oblation offers petition for those who communicate *and* for those who offer the sacrifice. If the Thanksgiving be used, it suits all *who communicate at any time*; and if the young who have not yet been admitted to Communion are present, they may well pray for those who have.

"The Church of England is clear on the subject. She expects her people to be present at the service. She expects unconfirmed children to be present. She *requires* no one to communicate more than three times in the year. She gives no permission to leave before the end of the service. She requires 'ALL the people' to say the confession 'in the name of those who are minded to receive.' Whatever evil habits may have crept in and grown up, one thing is clear—the Church of England, our Mother, contemplates and *expects* from her Prayer Book—to which all of us are bound—'non-communicating attendance,' or Eucharistic Worship. Those who denounce this Catholic custom are not supported by the Prayer Book.

"This is, after all, *the* question in dispute. Who is loyal to the Church of England? Those who oppose Eucharistic Worship, those who are indignant that

Christians should 'hear Mass,' or attend without communicating—whatever other plea they have—are not true to their Prayer Book.

"I beg you, my dear friend, to consider the case apart from the mere denunciation of controversialists. Remember, I say again, (1) the Church of England only *requires* her children to communicate three times in the year; (2) she *expects* her children to be present at that service, for at that alone she provides for necessary notices; (3) she *contemplates* the presence of the unconfirmed, for she orders that they shall 'hear sermons,' and *only* in this service does she provide for sermons; (4) she remembers *two* classes, those who communicate and those who do not, for the communicants are to be 'conveniently placed,' and '*all the people*' are to say the Confession 'in the name of those who are minded to receive'; and (5) she gives no sort of hint or encouragement for any one to leave the church during the celebration of the Holy Mysteries but at the end, and then they all are to be allowed to 'depart with this Blessing.' I might add that in the eighteenth Canon she is somewhat stringent in her directions *not* to leave in the middle of the service.

"If 'non-communicating attendance,' if 'Eucharistic Worship,' or 'hearing Mass,' that is, is only encouraged or taught by 'sacerdotalists,' then 'sacerdotalism,' like devotion and common sense are, I contend, *when rightly understood*, the teaching of the Church of England.

"I am sure, if men would open their minds, they would see that it is a reasonable and sensible thing. All this suspicion, all this anger, all this hardness and

scorn, come, I think, from a furious prejudice. Partly the roots are good. They imagine that those who teach Catholic practice are putting services *in place of Christ*. Fancy it !

“ Imagine putting anything *in place of your Redeemer* ! Why, we love *His* service because *He* is there ! We love it because *He* appointed it. We think it narrow and unloving to keep His children from gathering round His sacred feet. We cannot but feel that Eucharistic Worship deepens devotion to Jesus Christ.

“ I am, my dear Dean, your affectionate friend.”

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Little, W. J. Knox

The conflict of ideals in
the Church of England

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